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1 March 1977

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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1359

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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### EFFECTS OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS ON COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN WESTERN EUROPE

Budapest KULPOLITIKA in Hungarian No 4, 1976 pp 3-12

[Article by Gyula Horn, deputy chief, Department of International Relations of the MSZMP Central Committee: "European Political Developments and the Communist Movement in West Europe"]

[Text] [English Summary by KULPOLITIKA] A survey of the present position of the Western European Communist parties and the major aspects of their tactics and strategy, leading on to a brief introduction to the nature and aims of their day-to-day struggles. The political timeliness of the Communist question in Western Europe is pointed out as is the growing strength of the Communist parties in legislative bodies, local administration, and trades unions. There are capitalist countries where the relationship to the Communists has become a central issue for every important political grouping.

The author discusses the domestic and foreign political factors which contribute to the growing influence of the Communist parties, all those circumstances which came to the fore thanks to favourable changes in international power relationships, and the struggle of the international working class. He describes the conclusions drawn by the Communist parties from their study of the new situation, and the new elements of their tactics and strategy.

The article goes on to deal with the action programme and pluralist interpretation of the West European Communist parties in connection with their fight for a democratic turn of events and for the transition to socialism. New developments in the social, political and economic life of the capitalist countries have a decisive importance in this respect.

The article points out the importance and difficulties of cooperation with Socialist and Social Democratic parties

within the policy of alliances. At the same time it refers to the fact that the new tactical and strategic ends and means cannot isolate the West European Communist parties from the already existing socialist societies, since they cannot do without the solidarity and support of the other revolutionary forces.

Finally, the article sums up those most important international political issues on which the Communist parties of the capitalist world hold identical or similar views, and also touches on differences concerning certain subjects. The specific national features which are gaining ground in the programmes and practice of the West European Communist parties do not hinder cooperation and solidarity among Communist parties, but, on the contrary, lend strength to it on a new basis.

One of the chief revolutionary forces of our age is the international worker class, a significant segment of which is the worker class of the economically developed capitalist countries, including the European capitalist countries.

A communist party operates in every European capitalist country. One was recently formed on Malta and there is also a communist movement in Iceland within the framework of the so-called Popular Federation. In the developed capitalist world, including the United States, Canada, Australia and Japan, there are 26 Marxist-Leninist parties, 24 of which operate legally while two, the Spanish and Turkish communist parties, operate in illegality.

It is a truth of our day that as a result of the increasing influence of the communist parties and their role in political life and international political relations the so-called communist question has come into the forefront of public interest. In many capitalist countries the relationship to the communists has become a daily political question, in some countries simply the central question. No really significant social-political trend or movement can be indifferent to the stands and action taken by the international worker class led by the communist parties. This has special significance in Western Europe where the communist parties have gotten into the chief currents of political life, where the number of their members and voters continually increase and where they have mass influence.

The parties of the Western European communist movement, especially the parties with great mass influence, are significant factors in the social development and political life of their countries. The ruling classes and governments cannot ignore their positions but must reckon with them. The attempts to isolate them and reduce their influence have proved barren. The communist parties today continue their struggles in an extraordinarily complex and sharp phase of the class struggle, amidst new conditions.

## The Upsurge of the Communist Movement in the Capitalist Countries

In the middle of 1976 the number of communists in the European capitalist countries was about 2.8 million. There are about half a million communists in Australia, the United States, Canada and Japan.

During the more than 3 decades since World War II the membership of the Western European communist parties has developed unevenly. In the years immediately after the war the great majority of the communist parties were among the significant political forces even numerically in the West, but in the cold war period, as a result of the brutal counterattacks of reaction and the oppressive measures, the communist movement weakened, some of the parties were forced into illegality and the number of their members fell. Beginning with the second half of the 1960's the communist movement picked up in most capitalist countries, the ranks of the parties swelled and then with the beginning of the 1970's a new wave of growth began, especially in the membership of the Italian, French, Finnish, Swedish, Swiss, FRG, Greek, Portuguese and Spanish parties.

Naturally the situation of the communist parties is different in different Western European countries. In regard to their political influence and the place they occupy among the political movements of their countries the French, Finnish, Luxemburg, Italian, Portuguese, San Marino and Spanish communist parties and the Progressive Party of the Cypriot Working People (AKEL) are mass parties. This is shown by, among other things, the positions they have won in the national assemblies, local self-government organs, interest defending and trade organizations of the workers and mass movements.

There are communist parliamentary representatives in 15 of the capitalist countries of Europe--in Belgium (1 parliamentary representative plus 4 senators), in Cyprus (9), in Denmark (7), in Finland (34), in France (73), in Greece (5), in Holland (4 plus 7), in Luxemburg (5), in Norway (5), in Italy (227 plus 116), in Portugal (40), in San Marino (15), in Switzerland (4), in Sweden (17) and in Iceland (about 20 percent of the representatives). In the most recent parliamentary elections the positions of the French, Danish, Greek, Dutch, Norwegian, Italian and Portuguese communists strengthened especially.

Some communist parties, notably those of Cyprus, Finland, France, Luxemburg, Italy and Portugal, won a respectable portion of the votes, 13.2 to 42 percent, or further increased the number of their representatives.

More than 20 million voters gave their vote to the candidates of the Western European communist parties. Although not every communist party succeeded in considerably increasing its representation in the legislature, the communists almost everywhere strengthened their positions and influence in local elected bodies, in factory councils and at various levels in the trade unions.



Representative positions in factory and local trade unions are held primarily by the Austrian, Irish, West German and Norwegian communist parties and by the Socialist Unity Party in West Berlin. The Belgian, Danish and Dutch communist parties and the Swiss Workers Party have considerable participation in local administrative organs and in workers' organizations.

The AKEL on Cyprus has almost 40 percent of the mandates in the local administrative organs of the Greek part of the island and has leading influence in the All-Cyprus Labor Federation. In addition to the significant positions won by the Finnish Communist Party in local self-government it is the second most significant political factor, after the Social Democratic Party, in the trade union movement.

The Greek Democratic Left Unity Front, in which the Greek Communist Party participates, won nearly 70 percent of the votes in the 1975 town council elections. Six members of the 35 member leadership of the Greek General Labor Federation are communists. The Portuguese Communist Party is a significant political factor in local administrative organs and is one of the leading forces in the trade union movement.

The San Marino communist party and the Swedish communists are significant political forces in the town councils and in the trade unions. The Spanish Communist Party plays a leading role in the worker's committees.

The two largest and most significant communist parties of Western Europe are the French and the Italian. In the district elections of March 1976 the French Communist Party won 22.8 percent of the votes and communists now lead more than 1,100 towns (out of about 10,000 in the country). The PCF has deciding weight in the General Labor Confederation (CGT) which has about 2.5 million members and its first secretary (Georges Seguy) and one of its secretaries (Henri Krasucki) are members of the Political Committee of the PCF. The CGT has formed close cooperation and action unity with the other significant national trade union grouping, the Federation of French Workers (CFT).

As a result of the provincial, city and administrative elections held in Italy in June 1975 almost 40 percent of the territorial units came under communist leadership. The PCI manages the 5 most important of the 15 regions (Emilia Romagna, Tuscany, Umbria, Liguria and Piedmont). Every significant city of Italy--Rome, Milan, Naples, Torino, Florence, Genoa and Venice--came under leftist, communist-socialist, leadership. Communists-socialists manage 26 of the 93 provinces. A total of 1,707 Italian towns have communist mayors and the party is represented in 32,000 town councils. The PCI has great influence in the trade union movement. It plays the leading role in the Italian General Confederation of Labor (CGIL) with 3.5 million members. The CGIL has developed close cooperation with the Italian Trade Union Federation (CISL) which is under Christian Democrat influence and has 2.2 million members and with the 800,000 member Italian Workers Federation (UIL) led by the social democrats.

Many factors determine how the membership of the several communist parties and their position at various levels of political-social life develop. A role is played in this by the traditions of the social-political system of the country, the traditions and concrete tasks of the class struggle, the ruling methods of the bourgeoisie and, what is particularly important, the unique nature of the development of the labor movement and its parties in the country.

The communists were the chief targets, everywhere and at all times, of the fascist and authoritarian regimes. As a result the Greek, Portuguese and earlier the West German communist parties were forced into long years of difficult illegality. Following the fall of the fascist regimes or after winning legality the parties grew quickly. Following June 1974 the membership of the Portuguese Communist Party grew in barely one year from about 5,000 to more than 100,000 and the party became a significant factor in the political life of the country. The ranks of the Greek Communist Party are growing continuously. Emerging from illegality the German Communist Party is making progress year by year despite extraordinarily difficult circumstances. The Spanish Communist Party, although it has not yet won legality, counts as one of the leading political forces of the country in regard to its actual importance and its role in the anti-monarchy, broad democratic movement.

The situation and role of several communist parties within the worker class are fundamentally influenced by the fact that the reformist wing of the labor movement, the socialist and social democrat parties, have had traditionally strong positions in the country for long decades. The socialist or social democrat parties are the largest parties of the labor movement in England, Austria, Belgium, the Federal Republic of Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Holland and Switzerland and the majority of them are in the government. In these countries the public life positions of the communists are fundamentally influenced by the fact that social democracy, appearing with the slogan of "democratic socialism," exercises strong influence over the political character of the working masses due to the significant economic and social achievements won over long decades.

But even in those countries where the social democrat movement has deeply rooted traditions and mass influence we can speak of an increase in the importance of the communists in recent years and of their continual strengthening in many places. Although the progress is not so obvious or massive everywhere as it is in France or especially Italy, the path of the communist movement leads upward in virtually every country of Western Europe. This can be measured not only by numerical increases.

It is a fundamentally important phenomenon that the communist movement in Western Europe has entered a new phase of development; the policy and aspirations of the parties have an ever broader effect. The communist parties speak for and follow the most democratic ideals. The diligent work of the communists in the trade unions, in youth organizations, among women, in the peace movement, and in other mass organizations is proving to the workers that the communists are the most consistent representatives of the interests

of peace, social progress and socialism. The fact that the attraction of socialism has grown throughout the world is thanks to the work of the communists.

The communists publish daily and weekly papers, periodicals and Marxist literature everywhere in the capitalist world; their word spreads among the workers even though they nowhere have such effective mass communications tools as the television, radio and daily papers which the bourgeoisie have monopolized due to their power positions.

The present upsurge of the Western European communist movement was made possible in part by the favorable development of international power relationships and in part by the changes in the internal social, economic and political circumstances of the capitalist countries which define the position of the parties.

Detente and the spread of the policy of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems, in Europe and generally in East-West relations, have favorably influenced the anti-capital struggle of the international worker class. The European security and cooperation conference, the regularization of Soviet-American relations and the development of bilateral contacts among socialist and capitalist states have opened a new chapter in the history of creating peace and security.

The peace of mankind is one of the fundamental and noble goals of the struggle of the communists, including the Western European communist parties. The Western European communists attribute an outstanding role in the defense of peace to the international activities of the socialist countries. According to Gordon McLennan, first secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, the "communist parties of the socialist states successfully follow, as state policy, the great goal of peaceful contacts and cooperation among countries with different social systems. This policy is of very great significance to the citizens of every country who take a stand against war and for ensuring world peace."<sup>1</sup>

The documents and statements of the Western European communist parties express the fact that the consistent peace policy, increased economic power and political importance of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries are of primary significance in the positive shift in international power relationships and in preserving world peace. The resolution of the 22d Congress of the French Communist Party (4-8 February 1976) states: "In the course of the past half century significant changes have taken place in the world to the benefit of the forces of progress and freedom, socialism and peace. The existence and activity of the socialist countries play a crucial role in this regard."<sup>2</sup>

The struggle of the Western European labor movement, the other progressive trends and all democratic and peace loving forces play a determining role in the positive development of international political relations.

At the same time, as a result of the comprehensive struggle for peace and security, more favorable conditions have been created for the working masses for the struggle against the bourgeois system and for all those profound political changes which can bring nearer the socialist transformation.

Fundamental among the changed conditions is the fact that the positions of imperialism have weakened; it has less opportunity and ability for maneuvering. As a result of the new relations among states and the strengthening of national sovereignty and independence there are better foundations for the aspirations of the peoples and nations for independence, equal rights and freedom from outside intervention. Under present conditions there is a more realistic opportunity for peoples to choose their own social systems and resist the dictates and economic-political reprisals of imperialism.

This development is of crucial significance to the Western European communist parties from the viewpoint of the international conditions necessary for the victory of socialism. The report of the 22d Congress of the French Communist Party states in this connection: "The favorable changes in international power relationships make the independence of nations and countries and the self-determination of peoples one of the greatest achievements of our age."<sup>3</sup>

The weakening of the capitalist military-political alliances is accompanied by the result that it is ever more difficult to maintain the obsolete alliance system of NATO and solve internal political tensions with extreme actions directed from outside.

As a result of the spread of the policy of detente and the strengthening of democratism of international life the monopolies and the governments under their influence are no longer capable of conducting their reactionary policies of popular oppression in the old manner. They are forced to make concessions and conduct a domestic policy which reckons better with realities and with the demands made by the worker class. As a result of the more favorable international political relationships and the more intensive actions of the progressive forces, the position of the most reactionary forms of bourgeois rule, of the fascist systems, becomes increasingly untenable. The positive development of international life played a role in the fall of Portuguese and Greek fascism and accelerated the agony of fascism in Spain. The failure of the fascist authoritative systems contributed at the same time to a further strengthening of democratic trends throughout Europe.

International factors have a direct effect on the development of the domestic political situation and on the political behavior of the masses. There is a strengthening recognition in the awareness of people that the peace loving foreign policy of the socialist countries contributes directly to strengthening the security of their own countries and represents the international aspirations of millions of workers. This is also important because although the desire for socialism has not yet matured among the masses everywhere in

in the West, the international activity of the socialist countries plays an ever more positive role in forming fundamentally important internal political relationships. The experiences of the general elections held in the Federal Republic of Germany in October 1976 clearly show that the fundamental role in the victory of the Social Democrat-Free Democrat coalition was played by the commitment of the two parties to a continuation of the so-called Eastern policy. This represented powerful political capital for the coalition. In general, in the majority of the Western European capitalist countries, under contemporary conditions it is an unrealistic political line for the bourgeoisie to propose a return to the goals and methods of the cold war period.

The upsurge in the Western European communist movement is interdependent with those profound changes taking place in capitalist society. As a result of these the domestic conditions for the activity of the parties has changed, their mass base has expanded, their policies have been renewed and their aspirations are becoming attractive for ever broader circles.

Some of the changes which have taken place in the situation of the capitalist countries are being realized in a lasting and trend-like fashion while others come to the surface as new phenomena but on the soil of old and fundamental contradictions.

A process of concentration and centralization of capital accompanies the development of the forces of production. As a result there is a trend-like change in the class structure of the capitalist countries or in the economic-social position of the several social strata. The sharpening of the general crisis accelerates this process to an extraordinary degree. The small and middle capitalists and the independent farmers as owners go bankrupt in increasing numbers and join the worker class. The camp of those living from wages and salaries constantly increases and they make up the overwhelming majority of the working population of the economically developed capitalist countries--about 80 percent in 1975.

Another important characteristic aspect of the re-stratification of the populace is that this process embraces virtually every category of society. It is an essential circumstance from the viewpoint of the base of the class struggle that the intelligentsia, especially the technical cadres, increasingly become parts of the administrative or employee category within the gigantic economic complex of the organization of the monopolies and their work gradually loses its creative and guiding character.

The constant expansion of the worker class and the proletarianization of the middle strata creates new opportunities for the workers' parties, the possibility for the creation of broad leftist coalitions embracing various strata of those living from wages and salaries.

New phenomena in the sharpening of the general crisis of capitalism fundamentally influence the contemporary situation of the capitalist countries.

It is extraordinarily important from the viewpoint of the present position and policy of the communist parties to discover and analyze the symptoms and causes of the crisis of the capitalist system so that suitable conclusions can be drawn in regard to the concrete possibilities and goals of the class struggle.

In their analyses the Western European communist parties have come to the conclusion that, although the crisis appears in different ways in the different capitalist countries and has various effects, many aspects of it are general ones and are valid for the capitalist world as a whole. According to their evaluations what is involved now is not a traditional business cycle crisis or cyclic depression but rather a global crisis which extends to every area of the life of capitalist society in the entire capitalist world.

A moderation in prices is not following the standstill and fall in economic life; on the contrary, a great rate of inflation is continuing. Use of productive equipment is decreasing in most capitalist countries, unemployment is increasing and the deficit in foreign trade and payments balances is increasing.

The complex nature of the crisis is shown by the crisis in the capitalist international financial system and international economic contacts and the sharpening of tensions in contacts among capitalist countries.

Speaking of the global crisis, the November 1975 joint statement of the Italian Communist Party and the French Communist Party stated among other things: "The institutions of bourgeois life struggle with ever more serious problems; the political crisis is becoming more profound in social and moral life. This crisis shows that the capitalist system is incapable of meeting the demands of the development of productive forces, science and technology and cannot ensure the right to work, an increase in the standard of living and the development of cultural and other values. The danger of a serious decline of society as a whole appears in both countries as it does, in various forms, in other Western European countries."<sup>4</sup>

The communist parties are pointing out that the situation of the worker class has worsened even in those countries where the crisis is not so drastic as it is in Italy or France. The slow down in economic growth in a number of capitalist countries has increased the burdens falling on the workers as a result of new price and tax increases, lower wages and an increase in the tempo of work. An increase in real wages is coming to be regarded as the exception and the workers are being forced to fight for a simple equalizing of rising prices.

Even in those capitalist countries where unemployment is not increasing or massive, the capitalists and governments are using as tools of oppression uncertainty, anxiety about jobs and the fact that holding a job is most important for workers and employees. They thus want to force them to accept new burdens without resistance.

It has not yet happened in the history of Western Europe that a determined turn to the left was born from the sharpened crisis situation of capitalism. The crisis of the 1930's gave birth to fascism in Italy and Germany and contributed to the outbreak of World War II. But the present situation is different. Although the danger of a fascist turn has not disappeared completely, the radical changes in the international power relationships, including the significant growth of leftist forces in the capitalist countries of Europe, offer the hope that the progressive, democratic forces will find a leftist way out of the crisis. For the first time since World War II, even taking into consideration the communist government participation in the second half of the 1940's in some Western European countries, a situation has arisen in which broad and lasting democratic trends can get into power in several European capitalist states.

The international bourgeoisie are incapable of giving a uniform and especially a satisfactory answer to the crisis and they do not have sufficient strength to obstruct the further advance of progressive movements in the West. But the international monopolies, the finance capital embracing the capitalist world and their governments still have gigantic reserves and possibilities. They can start coordinated, combined actions to disarm the demands of the working masses and strengthen politically and economically certain regions of the capitalist world even if they are incapable of ending the lasting trend of global crisis.

The leading circles of the United States, recognizing the dangers deriving from the political situation of their Western European allies, are increasing their pressure on Western Europe. The United States, with its economic and political strength, significantly influences European political relationships. Attempts to strengthen Atlanticism and the increasing expansion thereof fundamentally contradict the real national interests of the European countries and their demands for independent development. The government circles of the United States, with the support of the governments of the FRG, France and other capitalist countries, are introducing every tool, the tools of blackmail and threats, to hold back the communists and other progressive forces. The international bourgeoisie is answering the new "communist challenge" with an unbridled anti-communist campaign. The well known elements of the cold war period are increasingly used in their tactics.

#### A Struggle for a Democratic and Socialist Turn

The Western European communist parties, taking into consideration the changed situation and possibilities and the attacks of the bourgeoisie, are making efforts to renew their policies. They are analyzing from many sides and examining from a class viewpoint the new phenomena of state monopoly capitalism, the changed international power relationships and the contemporary realities of the world political situation and are drawing new conclusions from these for the tasks of their parties, their relations with their allies, the democratic transformation of the political structure of society and the

transition from capitalism to socialism. Their conclusions are not limited simply to social criticism. A development of Marxist revolutionary strategy is part of the renewal of the ideas and policies of the communist parties. A modification of certain elements of the new tactics and strategy is a fundamental result of the recognition and awareness of new processes taking place in society. The parties of the Western European communist movement, building on their increasing influence and the changed international and domestic conditions and starting from the new requirements, are developing their policies.

The fundamental strategic goal of the parties has not changed; all of them are joining the struggle for democracy and socialism and are striving for the overthrow of the rule of the monopolies and for the creation of socialist social relationships.

Even if there are differences in the tactics and strategy of certain parties there is an increasingly general conception among them that under the contemporary modern conditions of the capitalist system there hardly exists a possibility for carrying out the revolutionary turning by armed means; the necessary internal and international conditions for this do not exist. They are emphasizing that socialism finds in every country a national form under those conditions which have been developed by the history of the given country and by the struggle of its worker class.

According to Alvaro Cunhal, the first secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party: "Revolution cannot be copied. There are no ready-made models of revolution. Thus revolutions cannot be repeated and the correct road for the Western European countries cannot be found by a mechanical copying of socialist revolutions which have taken place in the past. There is no common recipe or an obligatory way for opening the road leading to socialism in every Western European country; and there will not be in the future."<sup>5</sup>

The essence of the "democratic road" (Communist Party of Great Britain), the "popular union" (French Communist Party), the "historic compromise" (Italian Communist Party), the "democratic break-through" (Spanish Communist Party) and other similar tactical and strategic thinking is that the turning must be achieved by exploiting the possibilities offered by the democratic victories won in a difficult class struggle, by winning the support of the overwhelming majority of the people, by means of mass struggle and through elections.

Thus the chief goal and tool of tactics and strategy is an alliance policy built on the broadest possible base. Going beyond the frameworks of a popular front policy in the classical sense the communist parties are expanding these frameworks in an attempt to bring into the ranks of the left not only the popular masses in the traditional sense but also all those forces which for any reason desire an internal and foreign policy orientation better suited to the interests of the people, nation and country. By winning



the broadest possible forces, discounting the lords of the monopolies--every class and stratum, the religious and democratic masses and the patriotic democrats--they are striving to precipitate a shift in domestic power relationships of decisive significance.

It is fundamental in the programs of the Western European communist parties that they post as a goal an end to exploitation, social ownership of the key tools of production and the political power of the people. They want to win a socialist turning not by "peaceful growth" but rather by class struggle, by mass action led by the worker class. For this reason the thinking and programs of the Western European communist parties cannot be equated to the reformism of social democracy. The social democrat platform, the social democrat program of "democratic socialism," is not aimed at socialization of the tools of production, the overthrow of the rule of the monopolies and a leading role for the worker class. Reformism does not want to change the existing capitalist social system in its fundamentals.

According to the thinking of the communist parties the struggle for a democratic or socialist turning is ever stronger amidst the contemporary realities of the capitalist world and the changed conditions of the international class struggle. The struggle of the masses for economic and political reforms, for state ownership and democratic supervision of key branches of the economy, for limiting the political and economic power of monopoly capital and for democratization of state power are parts of a comprehensive political process aimed at a socialist turning. The programs reckon with a continuing and many-sided development of economic and political democracy to be ensured by broad mass struggle. With the strengthening of the possibilities of a socialist turning the Western European communist parties are putting new tasks on the agenda of class struggle. An extraordinarily important new element and goal in their tactics is a struggle for radical, democratic reforms by means of which ever broader popular masses can take over the guidance of the economic, social and political development of the nation. They emphasize as an immediate goal of their struggle the protection and building of democratic freedoms to ensure, by the realization of qualitatively new democratic rights, the participation of the workers in the guidance and supervision of the affairs of the country at every level.

Strengthening the alliance policy plays a special role in the tactics and strategy of the Western European communist parties. United actions by the labor movement and the worker class cannot do without the cooperation of the workers' parties. The communists are initiating action unity with the socialist and social democrat parties.

But in many countries the social democrat leadership is rejecting the initiatives aimed at cooperation. Of the countries of Western Europe, only in France have the communists succeeded in working out a cooperation agreement at higher levels or a joint action and government program with the socialists. We can speak of political cooperation and occasional joint actions in Italy,

Finland, Spain, Sweden and Holland. The Austrian Socialist Party, the English Labor Party and the German, Danish, Swiss and Portuguese social democrats rigidly reject contacts with the communists.

The rightwing of social democracy, although it rejects cooperation and joint action with the communists, cannot prevent realistically thinking social democrat circles from seeking contacts with the other parties of the labor movement. Even the Socialist International was forced to modify its decision that socialist and social democrat parties belonging to it could not establish contacts with the communists. In 1973 the leadership of the International came to a compromise agreement according to which the social democrat parties should decide independently in regard to assuming or maintaining contacts with communists parties.

In virtually every capitalist country, often against the will of the leaders of the socialist and social democrat parties, cooperation between communists and social democrats is developing in the factories, in local trade unions and factory councils, in local administration, in the struggle for concrete economic and social goals and in the organization of joint political and solidarity actions. It is partly for this reason that several Western European communist parties consider town council and trade union work a primary forum for party activity and alliance work. Today, in many places, the action unity of progressive forces can be realized best in local representative organs and in trade unions.

In regard to the situation of social democracy, contradictions within the movement are ever more significant, especially where the social democrat parties are in the government. The social democrat governments basically represent the interests of capital, especially in their economic policies. This policy increasingly conflicts with the immediate economic and social interests of the workers and tensions deriving from this have strengthened especially in recent times. Even the worker members of the socialist and social democrat parties are opposing in factory councils the concrete measures of the governments of their own parties, especially in tax, price and pension questions and in regard to firings, etc. As a result of these tensions, among other things, political contradictions within the social democrat movement are sharpening and in some countries the positions of the social democrat governments are gradually weakening.

Following the goals of their alliance policies, the Western European communist parties are opposing the libels of rightwing social democracy and extreme bourgeois circles according to which the essence of the socialist society of the communists is dictatorship, replacing individual and collective freedoms with a "totalitarian system," etc. In general they reject the slanders against the socialist countries, the views which falsify the essence and development of true socialism, which make up a part of the anti-communist crusade of international reaction. In connection with this much space has been given recently in the statements of several Western European communist parties to the so-called pluralist conception in connection with the socialist transition or with the socialism which is to be realized.

Although the ideas in this regard differ from one another, it is an essential element of all of them to hypothesize the following amidst the socialist relationships of the future: Together with the socialization of the key economic sectors, which come under the direct control of the workers, the private character of medium and small production property will remain; together with a guarantee of the social-political leading role of the worker class there will be a possibility for the organized political functioning of a conservative opposition, a multi-party system will be realized; various anti-Marxist, religious and other ideological trends foreign to the worker class can be realized in ideological life. But there can be no freedom for the "ideology" of fascism, aggressive war, racial persecution or racism.

The cornerstone of the concept of political and ideological pluralism is that the worker class and its party must ensure the preservation and further development of the political conditions for the people's power by means of endless ideological and political activity, many-sided activity, and not by force; the trust and support of the decisive majority of the people must be won again and again and the ideology of the worker class, of Marxism, must be spread in an unending struggle. The pluralist views call attention to those unique characteristics which derive from the given level of democratic victories won amidst modern capitalist relationships and from the opportunities for and circumstances of the realization of the broadest alliance policy.

This conception is not the sum of finally crystallized views. The endless movement of the conditions and circumstances of class struggle in itself makes necessary a critical analysis of political conceptions developed thus far and the drawing of new conclusions. The correctness of these will be shown in the final analysis by practice.

At the same time it is important that there be a broader and more fundamental development of certain key questions connected with the democratic turning and pluralist socialism; for example, how to ensure a uniformly socialist and planned development of a multi-sector economy and what methods and tools to use to oppose restoration attempts by the bourgeoisie and reaction, sabotage and other acts of violence.

It would cause tension in the international communist movement or in relations among parties if some representatives of the Western European communist parties should rigidly oppose to existing socialism the views formed about abandoning the dictatorship of the proletariat or about a pluralist interpretation of socialism. Equally unacceptable are those criticisms which magnify the actual worries and problems of socialist countries if these criticisms are expressed in an extreme form, underestimating the historic achievements and experiences of the socialist countries and, in the final analysis, separating from them.

One cannot accept the views according to which "where there is a dictatorship of the proletariat there can be no true socialist democracy" or that "pluralist socialism is true socialism." These views ignore the historic road,

progress and gigantic achievements of the socialist countries which they won in their economic development and in the area of developing social security, socialist culture and the public and personal democratic rights of the workers.

The socialist transformation can be won in a hard class struggle against the domestic and international class enemy. The socialist turning will certainly take place differently in France, Italy and the other capitalist countries than it did in Eastern Europe; but no communist party can do without the rich historical experiences of those parties which are already building a socialist society. Nor can any Western European communist party renounce the achievements of existing socialism because the solidarity and support of the other revolutionary forces are indispensable in regard to the international political conditions needed for achieving the turning and in carrying out the democratic, socialist transformation.

The program adopted at the 25th Congress of the Danish Communist Party (September 1976) states, among other things, that the Danish Communist Party had renounced the slogan of demanding a dictatorship of the proletariat as early as 1949 because anti-communist propaganda had attached a significance to this phrase which was in direct contradiction to its real content and this could mislead the masses. The Danish Communist Party recognizes no model for the building of socialism. But it does admit, as do other Western European communist parties, that the building of a socialist society does have general laws which are contained in Marxist-Leninist theory. The program emphasizes that it will be a program for the fulfillment and realization of the freedoms of the people. The program recognizes the possibility of a change in government through elections in a socialist Denmark, but this cannot be a counterrevolutionary return to monopoly capitalism.

Worthy of note in this regard is a statement by Franz Muhri, first secretary of the Austrian Communist Party: "We say openly to our social democrat class brothers, there is no absolute democracy and freedom for anyone. And while we fully recognize and take into consideration the fact that there can be many roads leading to socialism and many forms of building socialism, it remains a fact that the exploiting class will never voluntarily give up its power, economy and privileges. The realization of socialist democracy demands the ending of the rule of large capital, the liquidation of the freedom for exploitation and oppression by capital and the creation of a solid state power of the worker class which will be always able to defend against the restoration attempts of domestic and foreign monopoly capital and ensure the building of a new and better society and the realization of the broadest and highest degree of democracy for every worker. Thus democracy and socialism constitute for us an indivisible unity."<sup>6</sup>

It is worthy of thought that, despite the upsurge in the movement, the Western European communist parties have the possibility of carrying out the democratic turning in the near future in only one or two countries and so under

present international conditions one can hardly imagine a radical turning in the capitalist world at one time or simultaneously in several countries. A radical change in one or two countries would find itself opposed by the resistance of the surrounding capitalist world and the international monopoly capital which is above peoples and nations which would obviously do everything in the interest of overthrowing the popular, democratic government, using every possible tool--economic boycott, sabotage, support for internal reaction, etc. The struggle against the destructive effect of the capitalist international environment demands a formidable class struggle.

#### For Strengthening the Favorable International Political Conditions

In the tactics and strategy of the Western European communist parties an outstanding place is occupied by the unending development of the favorable international political conditions, by stands and activity aimed at strengthening positive world political processes. The statements by the leaders of the parties at the 1976 Berlin conference of European communist parties and their documents and programs show that they take identical or similar stands in the more significant international questions:

- They approve and support the policy of detent and peaceful coexistence;
- they attribute historic significance to the results of the European security and cooperation conference and stand up for the full implementation of the Final Act;
- they support the easing of military tension and have taken steps in the interest of it;
- they support the active peace policy of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries;
- they are taking action in the interest of the liquidation as soon as possible of the tension and crisis spots instigated and supported by imperialism in various areas of the world;
- they support the struggle of the national liberation and democratic movements for consolidation of independence and against the neo-colonialist policies of imperialism; and
- they are taking action against the bloc policies of the imperialist countries.

In harmony with the positions they have taken the Western European parties of the communist movement carry out active international activity in the interest of common goals. Their actions and the mass actions organized by them are parts of the international class struggle. The parties emphasize that in general and in historical perspective the interests of the communists

and labor movements of the capitalist world coincide with the interests of the socialist countries. They point out that a strengthening and expansion of the practice of peaceful coexistence is a fundamental condition for progress toward socialism in the Western world too.

A further development of the new positive tendencies requires the cooperation of progressive and democratic forces within national frameworks and on an international scale and the organizing of mass actions and solidarity campaigns. Georges Marchais, first secretary of the French Communist Party, said at the 1976 Berlin conference of European communist and workers' parties: "Our party is convinced that a contribution to the struggle for détente can be made primarily by organizing the struggle of the worker class and the popular masses against the reactionary policies of large capital and its government and for socialism and democratic change.... It is our desire that today and tomorrow France maintain the best contacts with every state on the basis of equality of rights and mutual advantages.... We call on the French workers to see in the new power relationships which have developed in the country and in the relaxation which characterizes the European situation new causes to trust in the struggle for democratic change and for socialism, which in our eyes is the essential thing."<sup>7</sup>

Every Western European communist party attributes crucial significance to the easing of military tension. It is their judgment that ending the arms race is in the immediate political, economic and social interest of every progressive movement in Europe. "The most dangerous tendency is the flow of large capital into the arms industry. This solution to the crisis is the traditional one for the capitalists but it is extraordinarily dangerous from the viewpoint of peace. The NATO countries are now increasing their armament very quickly and obviously. They are subordinating and sacrificing to this armament the standard of living of the entire population of these countries. One can speak of a simple explosive expansion of the arms industry. All this is accompanied by sharpening contradictions among the capitalist countries and by war-like threats from the capitalist world."<sup>8</sup>

As a result of the arms race the political oppression of the masses by the international monopolies is increasing and becoming permanent, ever greater sacrifices are being demanded in material and social areas and political tensions are becoming permanent in the international arena.

The Western European communist parties support in full measure the concrete initiatives made by the socialist countries in the interest of disarmament in Vienna, Geneva, New York and elsewhere. This support has special significance for the socialist countries because mass actions organized in the interest of limiting the armaments policies of monopoly capital are indispensable in the international struggle for military relaxation.

While the communist parties are united in opposing intervention attempts by NATO and the Atlanticist and hegemonist European policy of the United States

the positions of the various Western European communist parties in some concrete questions of relations to NATO differ. The policy of the French party is aimed at preventing the return of the country to the military organization of NATO. Several other Western European communist parties are struggling to have their countries liquidate a one-sided dependence on NATO.

The Italian Communist Party, on the other hand, stresses: "The Italian Communist Party does not espouse the unilateral departure of Italy from NATO because this would be harmful to detente. Only gradually and as a result of detente will it become possible for us to overcome military blocs and lay other foundations for the security of every country."<sup>9</sup> According to the Italian communists the country's departure from NATO in the present situation is an unrealistic demand and it would not change the fundamental political division of the world. In this way the Italian Communist Party rejects the charges that in the event of its entering the government Italy would not fulfill its international obligations, would liquidate the defensive system of NATO and its Italian bases and thus upset the international balance of forces which has developed.

At the same time the Italian Communist Party considers a change in the present function of NATO to be necessary: "It is unimaginable that an Italian communist should accept the Atlantic treaty in its present form, primarily because NATO is a basic tool of American manipulation attempts in the political and economic life of our homeland and of Western Europe.... In the event of its coming into the government the Italian Communist Party would strive to have NATO conduct a policy, in the interest of peace, which would aid economic and political cooperation with states of the third world and in the interest of having the European Economic Community become an effective tool for the economic development of Europe."<sup>10</sup>

The Portuguese Communist Party has also rejected the charges of international reaction according to which the entry into the government of the Portuguese Communist Party would fundamentally threaten NATO. Alvaro Cunhal, the first secretary of the party, said at the Berlin conference: "Since 25 April 1974 our party has not raised the question of Portugal separating itself from NATO or the question of immediate abolition of North American bases on Portuguese territory. We have evidence no haste nor impatience. We represent the position that this question cannot be solved in isolation but rather within the broader frameworks of international security and progress in the area of world peace and cooperation among peoples. The simultaneous dissolution of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, which the conference urges, would represent a global solution into which a solution suitable to the Portuguese nation would fit."<sup>11</sup>

The Western European communist parties have not formed a uniform judgment concerning the existence and functioning of the European Economic Community. Several call for the dissolution of the integration organization while others call for reform and internal democratization. But they are agreed that there must be an end to its dependence on American policy and the great

international monopolies and that it cannot be permitted that the existence of the economic community should be used as a pretext for limitations on or liquidation of national sovereignty.

Accordingly, the communist parties are fighting to ensure the sovereignty of the EEC member states in the development of their international contacts, in deciding their military expenditures, in supervision of capital and national property and in the realization of democratic reforms. They regard the Tindemans Plan as an Atlanticist rightwing counterattack because the immediate goal of this plan is to place the EEC member states even more under American supervision, to hinder military disarmament and the liquidation of military blocs. The goal of the planned Europe of nine is nothing more than the realization of the interests of the great international monopolies and stopping political development in the capitalist part of Europe.

In opposition to the Tindemans Plan the Western European communist parties are taking a stand for the liquidation of the EEC or for a democratization of its institutions and for an absolute guarantee of the independence and national sovereignty of the member states.

Of extraordinary importance in the struggle and international actions of the Western European communist parties is the organization of solidarity actions with the national liberation movements. Their actions have played a role in most countries in forcing the governments to disassociate themselves from the policy of the United States of supporting military dictatorships. They are influencing in a significant way the positive aspects of the foreign policies of several capitalist countries in relations with the "third world." The Western European communist parties are offering significant support to patriots persecuted by fascist, reactionary systems and take a serious part in strengthening international solidarity with the Chilean, Uruguayan, Angolan and other democratic or anti-fascist movements.

Recognizing the increasing significance of the international interdependencies of the class struggle and the importance of effective action against the international cooperation of the monopolies the communist parties are striving ever more vigorously to organize joint actions. One of the chief goals of the conference of Western European communist parties held in Brussels in January 1974 was a joint analysis and definition of struggle tasks. Various strata conferences and joint, simultaneous actions and strikes took place on the basis of agreements made at the Brussels conference.

Bourgeois propaganda has recently devoted much space to the debate taking place in the international communist movement concerning proletarian internationalism. They would like to set the Western European communist movement against the communist parties of the socialist countries, placing into the foreground those statements which emphasize the independence of the several parties. At the same time they are deliberately silent about the fact that not one party of the European communist movement rejects



solidarity and cooperation among fraternal parties. The document accepted by 29 parties at the Berlin conference of European communist and workers parties reflects this common position.

The document expresses the content of proletarian internationalism--the close relationship of the national and international interests of the worker class, mutual solidarity and support and comradely cooperation on the basis of the principles of the independence and equal rights of the several parties and non-intervention in one another's internal affairs.

Naturally the concrete forms of cooperation and solidarity among communist parties constantly change. The upsurge in the activity of the Western European communist parties is a direct result of the increase in unique characteristics in the policies of communist parties amidst changing international conditions. But this does not stand in opposition to the necessity for enriching and strengthening a joint exchange of ideas, a system of consultations and forums for cooperation.

Reporting on the position of the French Communist Party First Secretary Georges Marchais emphasized in Berlin: "The historical epoch in which we live is characterized by profound development. It would be incomprehensible if the communist movement should avoid this development. As I have already said, we are progressing in the struggle for socialism on a new and original road. To speak more generally, our party sets its policy completely independently and in a sovereign manner, designating its goals and the means for its actions, drawing the lessons--positive and negative lessons alike--from every experiment which has been made thus far, but regarding no experiment as a model. At the same time, our party strives to maintain friendly, comradely and cooperative contacts with every democratic and popular force which fights against imperialism and for independence, peace, democracy and socialism. In this context there are especially close contacts between our party and the other communist parties in whom we see the national vanguards of the struggle for social progress."<sup>12</sup>

The Western European communist parties are leading a national and international mass struggle the immediate goal of which is realization of the constitutional rights of the workers, the protection and further development of democratic victories, and the winning of international peace and security. In this struggle the chief tool, in addition to political enlightenment activity, is the organization of actions by the worker class. Historical experiences show that the bourgeoisie gives up nothing voluntarily for the good of the workers; democratic rights and economic and social concessions can be won only in diligent class struggle.

At the same time the Western European communist parties reject the view according to which a worsening of the crisis and a worsening of the economic and social situation of the workers is in the interest of the communist parties because, as it is said, "the revolutionary situation ripens" as a result. They reject with determination the sectarian slogan "the worse,

the better." They are making concrete proposals and demanding stabilization programs from the governments in the interest of ensuring full employment, improving real wages, and controlling prices, profit and investments.

They emphasize that a sharpening of the crisis situation is dangerous to all progressive parties and movements because it strengthens the aspiration for fascist, authoritarian rule and the danger of direct intervention by the United States. The communist parties are striving to prevent rightwing solutions and outside pressure because this can reduce to a common denominator the various parties of the labor movement of Western Europe and the various political forces interested in a democratic turning.

The present unique characteristics of the struggle of the Western European communist parties are a determined struggle for position and the spread of multiplex influence in organs of local self-government, in public administration, in factory councils and trade unions, in social, educational, scientific and cultural institutions and in universities and colleges. The public life activity of the communist parties in capitalist countries cannot be limited to political opposition to the existing social order. As a result of the leading role they have assumed in a number of cities and towns the Italian, French, Finnish, Danish and other parties are taking an active part in solving the concrete and everyday problems of the working masses and are carrying out social, economic urban development, communal and environment protection tasks. The communist mayors and local representatives differ from their predecessors in this, among other things, that they cannot be corrupted, they have clean hands, and they serve the populace and not the interests of the capitalist groups. The strengthening local "red" power and institutional positions also indicate the increasing opposition between the worker class and the capitalist class.

The many-sided activity of the parties of the Western European communist movement and the class struggle led by them are an ever more significant factor in the positive development of European political relationships. The policies and actions of the communists weaken the capitalist system and contribute to the weakening of the positions of imperialism and to a change in the imperialist cold war policy. With their efforts aimed at a uniting and activating of progressive forces they directly and effectively support the cause of European peace and security and the development of good relations among states and peoples.

The Western European communist parties are active participants in the worldwide struggle for the common international goals of the international communist movement against the common enemy, imperialism. In this regard also a direct and close identity of interest binds the Western European communist movement to the socialist world system and to the national liberation movements. At the Berlin conference of European communist and workers' parties Janos Kadar emphasized: "The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party is in complete solidarity with the communists fighting in the capitalist countries

and with all democratic forces; it greets their successes and support their struggle for profound changes in the direction of social progress and socialism."13

The solidarity and fraternal contacts of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party and the other communist parties of the socialist community with the Western European communist parties includes and presupposes the debates necessary for a mutual recognition and analysis of positions and opinions just as it includes and presupposes common concrete actions and cooperation.

The new situation and upsurge of the Western European communist movement and the coming into the foreground of new concepts and the modification of tactics interdependent with this upsurge are realities of our time which increasingly demand the ideological and action unity of the international communist movement and a strengthening of it on new foundations.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. From a speech given at the Berlin conference on European communist parties; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Jun 76.
2. L'HUMANITE 9 Feb 76.
3. L'HUMANITE 5 Feb 76.
4. L'UNITA 18 Nov 75.
5. From a speech given at the Berlin conference of European communist parties; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 1 Jul 76.
6. Excerpts from a speech given at the Berlin conference of European communist parties; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Jun 76.
7. L'HUMANITE 1 Jul 76.
8. From the Berlin speech of Henk Hoekstra, chairman of the Dutch Communist Party; NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 30 Jun 76.
9. From a February 1976 radio interview with First Secretary Enrico Berlinguer.
10. L'UNITA 14 Mar 76.
11. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 1 Jul 76.
12. From a speech given at the Berlin conference of European communist parties; L'HUMANITE 1 Jul 76.
13. NEPSZABADSAG 1 Jul 76.

## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

VISIT OF CANADIAN CHURCH LEADERS--On 14 February 1977 Hans Seigewasser, GDR State Secretary for Church Affairs, received a delegation from the UC (United Church of Canada), which was visiting in response to an invitation of the united churches of the GDR. The members of the delegation were: Rev. Wilbur K. Howard, moderator of the UC General Council; Rev Ronald G. Ray, secretary of the General Council; Mrs Shelagh Parsons; Rev W. A. Harvey; and Rev A. Maclean. The Canadian guests, who had gathered information during their sojourn in various bezirks of the GDR on the work of churches and Christians in socialist society, stressed the positive experiences which they were able to gain thereby. Rev Donald G. Ray, speaking on behalf of the Canadian delegation, stated that cooperation between the UC and the united churches in the GDR must be seen in terms of the mutual struggle against the armament race, the apartheid policy of the racist regime in South Africa, and hunger and ignorance. [Excerpts] [East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 16 Feb 77 p 2]

CSO: 2300

## BULGARIA

### PARTY DAILY COMMENTS ON CONFLICTING U.S. TRENDS

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 6 Feb 77 p 4 AU

[Article by Vladimir Lankov, Washington correspondent: "Trends Which Are Mutually Exclusive"]

[Text] Washington, 5 Feb--"The opening signals from the Carter administration on the tone of future U.S. relations with the Soviet Union were contradictory if not downright confusing." This is the beginning of a commentary that appeared in the U.S. periodical TIME, which as it becomes already obvious from the very first words, is devoted to relations between East and West. Without unjustifiably trying to attribute excessive liberalism, or benevolence toward the socialist countries to the authors of this article, we can, nevertheless, assert that in this particular context they have correctly grasped the essence of the question. It is true, that the first 2 weeks of James Carter's administration are characterized by two trends, which are mutually exclusive trends, which the administration is trying to impose in the area of detente.

In interviews and other official statements the President expressed his desire to act for an accelerated achievement of progress in the SALT II negotiations for a general limitation of armaments and for the full prohibition of nuclear tests. These are goals which the USSR and the socialist countries submitted to the West many years ago, at a time when the Western leaders were not willing even to think about their implementation. If a certain progress has actually been achieved in this respect, no sensible man could deny the fact that the basic credit for this progress goes to the countries of the socialist community.

Along with the President's previously mentioned statements, it was announced that Secretary of State Cyrus Vance will leave for Moscow on 28 March 1977 in order to negotiate progress in SALT II. Let us recall another fact, which adds something to the first, the positive one of these two trends. The administration submitted a proposal to Congress to appoint Paul Warnke, former assistant secretary of defense, who is well-known for his more liberal views, to the post of director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, as well as to appoint him as leader of the U.S. delegation to the SALT II negotiations.

The correctness of this evaluation is supported by the fact that the approval of Warnke's appointment to the above-mentioned post is now meeting the sharp opposition of the conservative Congress circles, under the leadership of such well-known opponents of detente as Senators Jackson and Nunn. In their attempts to defeat his candidacy, the influential "hawks" distributed a memorandum among Congress members in which they accused Warnke of being a supporter of the thesis on one-sided disarmament. The absolute inconsistency of this assertion was confirmed by the fact that bourgeois organs, such as THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON POST rejected this absolutely undeserved judgment.

The list of positive steps made by the new administration, however, ends here. Now, it is the turn of the second trend to be mentioned, a trend which can justifiably be evaluated as lacking in political realism. At the same time, when official spokesmen were making statements about Washington's readiness to contribute to detente, Vice President Mondale, during his recent tour of Western Europe and Japan, was trying to persuade the chief NATO allies that the new administration is firmly resolved to keep all previously assumed commitments and to do everything within its power to consolidate NATO. There is even more! Mondale frankly declared that the military expenditures of the United States for NATO will be increased, under the condition that the other members will also contribute their share of the financial burden.

The State Department in Washington revived a practice which cannot be interpreted otherwise than as an interference into the domestic affairs of other states. We are talking about the declaration published in defense of a small clique of enemies of the socialist system in Czechoslovakia and the USSR. Naturally, it had to be expected, that such an unseemly step would be explained by the most "noble" motives. This happened as a matter of fact, under the pretext, that being "seriously concerned" about the implementation of the documents signed in Helsinki, certain circles here in Washington are trying to discredit the advantages of the socialist way of life before U.S. public opinion. Later, it was announced that the declaration had not been submitted to Cyrus Vance for approval, and thus, an attempt was made to mitigate the political consequences of this declaration. To what extent, however, this was a diplomatic trick, or the simple truth, this is a question that still remains unanswered. One fact which caused perplexity was that in his first "fire-side talk" Carter, too, although vaguely, mentioned the subject of "human rights" which has lately become so fashionable here, and tried to make progress in the sphere of detente dependent upon these "human rights."

This approach in Washington's foreign political tactics is by no means new. It is sufficient to recall that the reactionary circles in Congress tried to stop the development of trade relations between the USSR and the United States, refusing to grant the Soviet Union most-favored-nation status. Now, however, the opinion predominates here that this attempt has thoroughly failed. There can be only one conclusion from this fact--namely, that the aspiration to revive a policy from the position of strength will not produce the expected results. If the Carter administration really intends to participate in the process of detente, it must give up the second trend mentioned above in this article.

BCP DECISION ON IMPROVING 'RABOTNICHESKO DELO' WORK

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Jan 77 pp 1, 2 AU

[Decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo on enhancing the role of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO at the stage of building a developed socialist society adopted on 28 January 1977]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee Politburo has adopted a decision on enhancing the role of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO at the stage of building a developed socialist society. The decision stresses that the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO is the successor and continuer of the great revolutionary traditions of its glorious predecessor the former RABOTNICHESKI VESTNIK. The central party organ has always stood in the front firing line of class struggles, of the struggles waged by the party. The party organ has worthily played its responsible role of a sharp and irreplaceable party weapon in the struggle against capitalism and fascism, in building socialist society in our motherland.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo highly appreciates the contribution of RABOTNICHESKO DELO in implementing party policy. The decisions of the April plenum of the BCP Central Committee and the creative atmosphere resulting from this plenum are of exceptional importance for the political and professional development of the daily. Since that time RABOTNICHESKO DELO has asserted itself even more as a collective organizer, propagandist and agitator standing on clear and unshakable class-party positions. Its role has been enhanced in resolving the basic political, socioeconomic and cultural tasks. RABOTNICHESKO DELO well deserves its prestige abroad as a herald of the consistent party line on behalf of proletarian internationalism.

The party principle-mindedness, the solid communist position and the active approach to the basic tasks of the country's development consolidated the organ of the BCP Central Committee as the most authoritative publication within the system of mass information media and propaganda.

The strength as well as the prestige of the newspaper emanate from the strength and prestige of our party, as well as from the consistent

adherence to the Leninist principles, from the party-mindedness, correctness and mass character of a new type of press. They emanate from the careful study and application of the experience of the daily PRAVDA and of Soviet journalism. RABOTNICHESKO DELO has become a universally recognized, sought after and popular people's daily which with its circulation of 800,000 copies exercises an influence upon practically all spheres of our social life and forms a powerful public opinion in support of party policy. The daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO plays the role of an important factor in the struggle for the implementation of party policy in practical deeds.

The considerable development of RABOTNICHESKO DELO is due to the fact that it is placed under the leadership of the BCP Central Committee, it is due to the great and most direct personal care devoted to it by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee first secretary.

At the same time, the Politburo stresses that the stage of building a developed socialist society and more concretely the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress, as well as the spirit and the criteria laid down by the July plenum of the Central Committee, are imposing higher, new demands upon the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO. Along with the above-mentioned successes achieved in the work of the editorial board and its leadership certain essential shortcomings have appeared, such as: insufficient purpose-orientation, scope and intensity in working out a number of basic practical and theoretical problems of socialist building; reduced initiative, efficiency and flexibility in working out new problems and in interpreting new events and phenomena; restriction of the authors' activity; existence of clichés, monotony and drabness in the layout and in the illustrations of the newspaper. Serious difficulties are created by the insufficient size of the newspaper and by the insufficient state of its printing base, by the frequent delays in printing and by the slow circulation throughout the country.

These shortcomings and difficulties are restricting the efficiency of RABOTNICHESKO DELO and are exerting a negative effect upon the standards of our journalism.

The Politburo positively evaluates the efforts of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO leadership in improving the layout of the newspaper and in increasing its efficiency and expresses confidence that the process of reorganization in the spirit of the great requirements of the 11th congress will continue with even greater élan and intensity.

The Politburo considers it necessary to enhance the role of RABOTNICHESKO DELO at the stage of building a developed socialist society in order to improve its ideological and, in particular, its professional-journalistic standards to the level of the political, organizational and ideological tasks assigned by the party, to the level of the new criteria outlined by the July plenum.



The main task now is to insure the further implementation of the April line of the party by the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO on a new and higher level, to insure the presence of the party on the pages of the newspaper, and to see to it that this presence should be organic, intense and creative. It is necessary for the newspaper to embody in a brightly publicistic form the new creative spirit of the July plenum, the spirit in which the party Central Committee and Comrade Todor Zhivkov personally have worked out the most important questions of our social development.

In view of all this the BCP Central Committee Politburo adopted the following decisions:

1. At the new stage of development of our social development the role of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO must be even more intensified as a central organ which takes an important place within the system of mass information and propaganda media in our country. Its function as a strong chief assistant of the party in our country, as an irreplaceable instrument of social administration, as a tribune of propagating social democracy must be even more efficiently demonstrated.

The points of view presented in the newspaper, and in particular its editorial articles and other instructing materials, must reflect even more fully the political line of the party and the practical measures for implementing the party line. The party committees, state and economic organs, the social organizations and cultural institutions must react immediately to the articles and reports published about them in the newspaper by taking up the new problems raised, by propagating the frontranking experience described and by taking measures for the real elimination of the shortcomings revealed.

2. The daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO must with even greater consistency concentrate its subjects on the basic trends of our social development.

The problems of the growing leading role of the party and of inner-party life must be worked out intensely, with a manysided approach and efficiently, by overcoming primitivism and monotony. Main attention should be devoted to the subjects of basic party organizations as a political nucleus and basic model for the workers collective; main attention should be devoted to the style and methods of work and leadership of party organs, to the selection, training and education of cadres, to the scientific approach in party work, to the relations between the party and the masses. The questions of responsibility, strictness and personal example of communists should be treated systematically and convincingly by the newspaper: Individual work with people, the role of criticism and self-criticism should be treated with particular attention. The main demand in working out party subjects should be the reorganization of party organs and organizations in conformity with the new criteria and tasks. The personality of the communist of our days must be convincingly described in all aspects. The problems of social organizations and movements must be more systematically illuminated.

It is necessary to propagate consistently and on a large scale the spirit of the 11th congress and of the July plenum on the pages of the newspaper and it is necessary to confirm the new approach in implementing the economic program and policy of the party by working out and illuminating the political, ideological and social aspects of this party policy. With its organizational work and initiative the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO must mobilize the working people in implementing the socioeconomic development plans and exert influence as a nationwide school of socialist attitude toward labor, the daily must struggle for a consistent implementation of the Leninist principles of socialist management. The problems of high efficiency and quality must be worked out on a larger scale. The problems of a strict regime of economy in utilizing the labor, material, financial and currency resources of the country must be worked out on a larger scale. The daily must expand, through skillful journalistic forms, based on the principles of propagation and comparisons, the competitive character of socialist competition in implementing counterplans. Along with the wider propagation of the frontranking experience, a more persevering struggle is being waged for the realistic practical implementation of this experience. The backwardness as regards scientific-technical problems must be overcome by the daily by actively and perseveringly contributing to the application of the achievements of scientific-technical progress in national economy and in the remaining spheres of social life.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO must intensely and broadly illuminate the theoretical wealth of our party, its contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism, as well as its creative application to all spheres of life. With class-minded irreconcilability and scientific arguments the daily must struggle for ideological conviction among the citizens of socialist society, against any manifestations of bourgeois ideology and morality, against anti-Sovietism, reformism and revisionism. The theoretical propaganda of the newspaper must become more topic and accessible to the masses, it must be actively directed at the research of new phenomena in our society, it must explain and motivate the comprehensive party policy. The daily must contribute to the acceleration and final implementation of reorganization on the ideological front. In this connection greater attention must be devoted to enhancing the scientific level and efficiency of party leadership in ideological work. We should devote attention to the introduction of ideological contents into all social activities and into all spheres of the social environment. We must devote attention to the consistent application of the purpose-oriented and comprehensive approach in planning and leadership of the ideological process.

At the center of its ideological-educational subjects the newspaper must place the problems of the socialist way of life, considered in all their variety and wide scope. The patriotic and internationalist consciousness of the working people must be qualitatively enriched consistently and with great influencing power. In this consciousness the feelings of love for Bulgaria and for the Soviet Union must merge into one. The great truth of socialism must be revealed and confirmed with even greater passion and

effect. The decisive attack against the "small truth" must be expanded. RABOTNICHESKO DELO must depict with great intensity and emphasis the portrait of the new socialist personality; it must contribute to the further development of this personality at the stage of building a developed socialist society. The daily must intensify its attention devoted to the question of consolidating the socialist family and in particular as regards the education of the young generation in a spirit of revolutionary traditions and communist virtues in order to establish a close connection between training and practical life.

In the sectors of literature, arts and culture the party organ must actively and with the necessary thoroughness and long-term scope tackle and work out the basic problems of the policy conducted by the BCP in the above-mentioned sectors. The party organ must contribute to the further cohesion of the creative workers of all generations round the April party line, for their direct links with the people's life, for a real turning point in mastering the contemporary subjects and for artistic mastery. The daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO must resolutely and consistently confirm the class-party criteria in evaluating artistic and creative life, in developing and perfecting the method of socialist realism. The daily must devote special attention to the elaboration and introduction of the national program for the people's esthetic education, for the formation of new, more lofty and more profound needs and interests in cultural-artistic values among the population, for the further development of the social-state principle in the administration of cultural processes.

Foreign political events and international relations must be even more widely and competently illuminated by pointing out the decisive role of the socialist community in the contemporary worldwide revolutionary process and by categorically revealing the reactionary and antihumanitarian nature of imperialism on the basis of sound arguments. The durable future-oriented character of the peaceful offensive in the spirit of Helsinki, waged by the countries of the socialist community, under the leadership of the USSR, must be pointed out. The consistent Leninist foreign policy of socialist Bulgaria, its great prestige and the role it plays on the international scene, its contribution to the consolidation of peace and good neighborly relations in the Balkans and the positive attitude of world public opinion to the successes of our social system, culture and economy--all these things must be widely propagated and commented on. The handling of the problems of international social integration, of relations and cooperation with the developing countries must be expanded and improved. In conformity with the great international traditions of the BCP great attention should be devoted to development of the international communist, workers and national liberation movement. The incomparable superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system must be more systematically and more boldly revealed. The social struggles of the working people, the fate of common people, the hopelessness of bourgeois society and of the bourgeois way of life must be described. Ideological diversion and anti-Sovietism must be unmasked in all their forms.

3. The daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO must devote ever increasing attention to the Soviet subject, which should be developed with great variety and in detail, in conformity with the new stage of the comprehensive drawing closer together of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR. The ascending development of Soviet society, the leading role of the CPSU, the new historical community--the Soviet people--the unity and cohesion of the multinational Soviet state, the growing influence of the Soviet Union in the contemporary world--all these things must be convincingly and comprehensively described. The subject of the USSR must be enriched by a large-scale illumination of the efforts of the CPSU devoted to all spheres of the Soviet country. The characteristic features of the Soviet way of life and the personality of the Soviet man--builder of communism--must be revealed.

Some of the best journalists and writers from the editorial board, as well as from the authors aktiv, must devote their efforts to the Soviet subject. The role of the RABOTNICHESKO DELO Bureau in Moscow must be enhanced.

Having noted the close relations between the RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board and the PRAVDA editorial board, the Politburo recommends to the leadership of the editorial board to undertake initiatives for a more intensive study and practical introduction of the great professional experience of the editorial board of the central press organ of the CPSU and of the other mass information and propaganda media in the Soviet Union.

4. The Politburo stresses that further enhancing the role played by RABOTNICHESKO DELO demands an intensification of the feeling of responsibility among the communists and the entire journalists collective for the great task entrusted them. It is necessary for the editorial board leadership to persist in its efforts devoted to improving the professional-creative standards of the daily, to the introduction of highly efficient methods of journalistic influence, to the expansion of creative initiative, to the final overcoming of any feelings of complacency and self-satisfaction. As to its journalistic qualities the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO must serve as an example for the working people in the sector of the Bulgarian press and in the other mass information media.

This is why the following improvements are necessary:

A) Thoroughness and competence and the offensive spirit and flexibility must be intensified in explaining basic problems and current tasks. Front-ranking experience must be reported more competently and with better arguments, by carefully following its introduction into practical life. RABOTNICHESKO DELO must set an example of bold criticism of shortcomings in businesslike work on the basis of constructive party positions. It must sharply and irreconcilably struggle against negative phenomena. The editorial board must pursue all critical materials or signals until the shortcomings have been eliminated.

B) The organization of editorial work and planning of the newspaper must improve as the main prerequisites for the daily's efficiency. Greater outlooks for the future, a wider scope and purposefulness must be introduced in the work of RABOTNICHESKO DELO by using on a large scale the target-oriented, comprehensive approach to problems of crucial importance. The current planning and complete layout of the newspaper should be perfected by emphasizing main events and problems in the individual issues of the daily as well as on a long-term basis throughout a certain period.

C) The newspaper should introduce a greater variety of subjects. Special care must be devoted to improving the qualitative standards of editorial articles. Greater preference should be given to the domestic policy commentaries. Preference should also be given to discussions and exchanges of opinions, to factual reports, as well as to comments on incoming news.

D) The graphic layout and image of the newspaper, which must conform to its position as the leading newspaper of the country and which at the same time must reflect the best achievements in this sector, must be perfected. At the same time, aesthetic requirements and the norms of hygiene of reading must be observed. Illustrated information, whose subjects and technique are not satisfactory at the present moment, must take its adequate place through insuring high-quality photographs, technically perfect cartoons and artistic drawings.

5. The solution of the great new task and the introduction of improved criteria demand that RABOTNICHESKO DELO should be the widest rostrum for the most gifted authors of the journalistic, social, scientific and cultural potential of our country. The fact of appearing on this rostrum, namely of writing for RABOTNICHESKO DELO, is a great honor and privilege.

In its decision the Politburo recommends to the editorial board of RABOTNICHESKO DELO to expand and strengthen the authors aktiv, on all basic lines of subjects. Free-lance commentators, advisers and special correspondents should be invited to contribute.

The function of RABOTNICHESKO DELO observers should be introduced. The most outstanding journalists, people with great political and professional qualifications should be selected for this function.

6. A turning point must occur in the comprehensive editorial work as regards reader letters in the spirit of the Leninist principle of the mass character of a new type of press. In addition to publishing the letters, it is necessary to conduct an active dialog with the readers in varied forms; it is necessary to publicize most widely on the pages of the newspaper the opinions of the readers on basic questions of our social development.

The RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board must expand on a large scale organizational and mass work as an efficient means of consolidating relations

with the readers and analyzing their opinions about the newspaper. The following measures are necessary for this purpose:

A) The practice of permanent and periodic "open house" hours of the newspaper should be expanded and consolidated.

B) The correspondents movement, a very original specifically Bulgarian movement, with great revolutionary traditions, which was unreasonably neglected in recent years, should be revived on a new basis, in the spirit of the great tasks set forth by the 11th BCP Congress. In this respect we should widely use the experience of the USSR and of the other socialist countries. The okrug and other local newspapers should become centers of work with the correspondents. The okrug and local newspapers should devote special care to the orientation and training of these correspondents. RABOTNICHESKO DELO and newspapers at all levels should organize "flying squads" of correspondents on important tasks, correspondents control centers in large building projects and other forms of active involvement of correspondents in resolving basic socioeconomic tasks. The Union of Bulgarian Journalists and the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO must prepare and convene a third national conference of correspondents.

C) The editorial board must actively and regularly organize the analysis of readers evaluations and recommendations about the newspaper's contents and layout. For this purpose a system of representative contacts with the readers should be worked out, a system which should envisage sociological research and conferences with readers of various categories.

D) The celebration of the 80th anniversary of the creation of RABOTNICHESKI VESTNIK and of the 50th anniversary of the creation of RABOTNICHESKO DELO should be organized in September 1977.

7. The Politburo considers it necessary to improve the structure of RABOTNICHESKO DELO as early as during the Seventh Five-Year Plan period. The present volume of the central party organ is incapable of absorbing the growing flow of information and the increasing size and intensity of the new problems; it is incapable of responding to reader interests. This is why the increase in the newspaper's volume must be considered as an important structural task, upon whose solution the improvement of the daily's efficiency greatly depends.

8. Taking into consideration the unsatisfactory state of RABOTNICHESKO DELO's production-technical base as well as the fact that its timely publication and distribution as well as the high quality of its printing is not only a technical, but above all a political and ideological question, the Politburo considers that timely measures should be taken by RABOTNICHESKO DELO's editorial board to resolve this problem. The same applies to the Press Committee as well as to the Ministry of Communications and to BTA.

For this purpose the BCP Politburo decision envisages for the Seventh Five-Year Plan period the reorganization and modernization of the newspaper's present technical base and a rationalization of its layout and production, by the following tasks being resolved in this connection:

- A) The State Planning Committee and the Press Committee must insure a timely increase in the capacity of printing equipment with a view to reducing the time for printing the newspaper and to accelerating its distribution. The layout and production of the newspaper should be reorganized on the basis of the conveyor belt principle. The quality of printing should be improved.
- B) The Ministry of Communications must set up within a period of 2 years a modern distribution system for RABOTNICHESKO DELO and for the other central newspapers printed in the Dimitur Blagoev printing shop.
- C) RABOTNICHESKO DELO's printing and distribution collectives should be consolidated.
- D) The editorial board headquarters building should be reorganized with a view to creating a modern, well-equipped production center, with the purpose of expanding and modernizing the editorial filing system and improving working conditions.

The Politburo recommends to the Council of Ministers and to other competent organs that they take measures for a timely solution of the question concerning the reorganization and modernization of the daily's base and of the other material-technical questions concerning the editorial board.

9. The Politburo calls for the attention of responsible organs in connection with allowing delays to occur in the preliminary studies for the RABOTNICHESKO DELO newspaper complex and obliges them to accelerate their work in this respect.

The BCP Politburo decision envisages a number of measures in connection with this issue.

10. The BCP Central Committee Politburo once more stresses that the guarantee for further enhancing RABOTNICHESKO DELO's role lies in its militant communist partymindedness and party leadership. It is necessary that in the future, too, the editorial board be guided in its comprehensive work by the decisions of party congresses, Central Committee plenums and documents of the Politburo and of the Central Committee Secretariat. These decisions should be implemented creatively and with inspiration into brilliant journalistic initiatives and forms.

The relations between the editorial board and the Central Committee departments, okrug party committees and other party organs should be expanded and intensified.

The newspaper's new stage of development demands that the editorial leadership's responsibility be enhanced and their rights be expanded, that inner-editorial organization be perfected and the care devoted to the journalistic cadres be improved.

The Central Committee considers the journalists of the party press as responsible ideological workers who are accomplishing an important task in implementing the tasks assigned by the party. The RABOTNICHESKO DELO editorial board must be strengthened by highly qualified journalists who have the necessary political and ideological training and at the same time distinguish themselves by their indubitable creative talents. Special measures must be taken to involve experienced journalist cadres in the network of correspondents in the country and the network of correspondents abroad must expand to new areas of the world.

In the administration and organization of editorial work modern scientific methods must be introduced on a large scale. More particular attention should be devoted to supplying the editorial board with organizational-technical equipment, in particular equipment for reporters and to the creation of a modern documents filing base, and so on.

With a view of expanding the newspaper's influence among working people the Press Committee and the party publishing house must establish a RABOTNICHESKO DELO library.

Cooperation with other mass information and propaganda media, such as Bulgarian Television, Bulgarian Radio and the Press Committee, the central dailies, the party periodicals and others must expand so as to promote joint journalistic campaigns under the leadership of the central party organ and to exchange professional experience. The closest cooperation and division of labor must be established between RABOTNICHESKO DELO and BTA with the purpose of accelerating the influx of information and making a coordinated use of the creative potential.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO must restore the practice of reviews of and other journalistic materials on the activities of mass information media as one of the forms of implementing party leadership over these media.

The Politburo expresses its deep confidence that, under BCP Central Committee leadership and with the cooperation of its numerous fellow workers, as well as with the cooperation of the entire public opinion, RABOTNICHESKO DELO's editorial collective will successfully accomplish the great tasks--namely to enhance even more the role of the central party organ in the stage of building a developed socialist society.

CSO: 2200



BULGARIA

TODOROV TOASTS FINLAND'S MARTTI MIETTUNEN

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 28 Jan 77 p 7 AU

[Apparent text of Bulgarian Premier Stanko Todorov toast at official dinner given by him for Finnish Prime Minister Martti Miettunen on 27 January 1977]

[Text] Esteemed Mr Prime Minister, esteemed Mrs Miettunen, dear Finnish friends: We are happy to be able to meet you, very esteemed prime minister of the Republic of Finland, for whom our people cherish the best friendly feelings.

Meetings between state and government leaders are already a characteristic feature of international relations. In this context, I would like to stress the active and useful role of Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic and Urho Kekkonen, president of the Republic of Finland.

Your visit, Mr Prime Minister, is an important moment in the development of the Bulgarian-Finnish relations. We believe that it will facilitate the future development and strengthening of the friendly ties between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Republic of Finland.

From your last visit, you already have an impression of the Bulgarian people and country. I hope that now you will see and compare what we have achieved in the construction of socialism and the progress of the Bulgarian People's Republic, as a developed industrial-agrarian state.

There are no questions of dispute between our countries. The relations between the Bulgarian and Finnish peoples have always been friendly and warm. In our centuries-long history we have shown that we cherish the sacrifices of other peoples for liberty equally with ours. Therefore, we do not forget the self-sacrifice of the Finnish soldiers for the liberation of Bulgaria from the Ottoman yoke.

I can stress with exceptional satisfaction that at present the relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Republic of Finland are

an example of equal cooperation between countries with different socio-political systems. We highly value the ties between the Republic of Finland and the other socialist countries and especially the USSR in the strict and consistent implementation of the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line. These ties are a valuable contribution to the peaceful development of Europe.

We think that with joint efforts we must elevate the bilateral economic cooperation to the level of our political relations. It is necessary to consolidate the balanced and harmonious development of the trade exchange and to find and utilize new forms of cooperation in the economy, science, technology and culture.

Mr Prime Minister, in the early 70's, the transformation began from "cold war" to detente in international relations. Today it is an objective reality. Its brightest manifestation was the historic Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which took place in your beautiful capital, Helsinki.

Allow me to stress the constructive role and great hospitality of the Finnish Government and people in the preparation and conduct of the conference. The final document, adopted by the conference and signed also by Todor Zhivkov, chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, is a long-term program for transforming Europe into a continent of peace and cooperation. The good friendly relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Republic of Finland are an example of the implementation of the spirit, aims and principles of the conference.

However, we must not close our eyes to the fact that the activity of the opponents of detente is still substantial. The forces against peaceful coexistence and mutually beneficial cooperation do not want to realize that detente is an objective necessity. Therefore, it is the order of the hour that all countries undertake concrete measures for turning detente into an irreversible process.

The upcoming meeting in Belgrade must, in our opinion, be directed at the future. At that meeting opinions on sharing the positive experience in the cooperation of the countries, participants in the Helsinki Conference, must be exchanged.

Detente in the political area must be supplemented by detente in the military area, too.

Led by this concept, the government of the Bulgarian People's Republic determined the struggle for disarmament as one of the main trends of its foreign policy activity. Our country supports all wise initiatives for stopping the arms race, disarmament and removal of the danger of conventional or nuclear war. We support the UNGA decision to convene in 1978 a special session on disarmament as an important stage in the preparation

of a world conference on disarmament. Our country is one of the coauthors of the proposal of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee on not being the first to use nuclear weapons.

The Bulgarian People's Republic makes consistent efforts for the development of bilateral relations and the strengthening of peace and cooperation on the Balkan Peninsula. Our active and versatile foreign policy contributes to the creation of a climate of understanding, good neighborhood and cooperation in the Balkans. This policy has achieved successes. We are convinced that it is useful to peace in Europe and the world.

Mr Prime Minister, I am convinced that our friendly relations and the unity or similarity of thought on the main international issues allow us to develop bilateral relations. This creates the possibility for us to contribute also in the future to the construction of the great cause of peace, progress and international cooperation.

I offer a toast:

To the health of the highly esteemed president of the Republic of Finland, His Excellency Urho Kekkonen!

To the very esteemed Mr Prime Minister of the Republic of Finland and his wife Mrs Miettunen!

To our dear Finnish guests!

To the friendship and cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Republic of Finland.

Toast!

CSO: 2200

BULGARIA

EDITORIAL CALLS FOR TIGHTENING OF DISCIPLINE IN ARMY

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Jan 77 p 1

[Editorial: "The Komsomol and Military Discipline"]

[Text] The Bulgarian Communist Party has always been particularly concerned with maintaining a high level of discipline in the army. It has always indicated to us that the approach to the solution of this problem cannot remain inflexible. Examples of a creative attitude toward problems of discipline were provided at the 11th BCP Congress and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum. In his Accountability Report to the 11th Congress, Comrade T. Zhivkov emphasized that "Discipline is a manifestation of the level reached in the development of the socialist individual, and in the level of his conscientiousness and responsibility toward himself and society, and in the final analysis, his attitude toward the socialist system." In its Appeal to Party members and working people and the Bulgarian nation, the BCP Central Committee again formulated strict requirements concerning discipline at the present stage.

This applies most emphatically to discipline in the Bulgarian People's Army as well. We must insure a high level of organization, wage a merciless struggle against the waste of training and working time, and combat carelessness, unwillingness, and irresponsibility. We must create the type of discipline which will contribute most fully to the implementation of the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress on continuing to upgrade the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army.

The question of strengthening discipline has always been an important and primary task confronting the Komsomol in the armed forces. In this connection, the Komsomol organizations and societies have acquired a great deal of positive experience. But individual negative phenomena exist, as well. In this connection, the criticism voiced by Minister of National Defense Army General Dobri Dzhurov to the effect that "Some Komsomol societies and organizations do not make full use of their opportunities and great potential for strengthening discipline" was fully justified.

In his speech at the accountability and election meeting held by the Komsomol organization in the unit in which Officer Popov serves, Colonel General Kiril Kosev, chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army, noted that "...We wish our Komsomol organizations to adopt a new attitude toward problems of discipline.... The effectiveness of the activities of Komsomol societies and organizations should be measured by the real contribution they make to upgrading the combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army.... The state of the discipline must be raised by the Komsomol societies and organizations to the level of the main criterion in assessing their contribution to the comprehensive solution of combat readiness problems."

The Komsomol organizations must even further energize their efforts to explain the political nature and significance of conscious military discipline. To do so, the efforts of the Komsomol managements must be directed toward the timely and complete study, interpretation, clarification and dissemination of party decisions. Komsomol activities must be such as to arm the young soldiers with socialist ideas and with the necessary knowledge and requirements of discipline. They must actively assist in converting such ideas into convictions and behavioral norms.

The role of the Komsomol in the development of discipline, willingness, and responsibility must be increased. Every Komsomol member must fully understand that discipline is one of the indicators of his spiritual conformation, ideological maturity, and political and moral conscientiousness.... Self-discipline arises from the demands the soldier-Komsomol member makes of himself, his level of organization, willingness, accuracy, readiness to subordinate his actions to the requirements of the laws, orders, and directives issued by commanders and chiefs, under all circumstances, and his ability to control his actions autonomously and to show endurance and self-control.

The Komsomol organizations must more skillfully combine their work on the study of the new regulations and problems of disciplines. Komsomol activities must contribute to the profound realization of the ideological-political and practical significance of the new military regulations on the part of all Komsomol members.

The Komsomol societies and organizations can work successfully on strengthening discipline provided that activists and commanders who are Komsomol members set a personal example. It is a well-known fact that only someone who is convinced can convince others; only one who is educated can educate others, and only a disciplined soldier can discipline others.

The militancy, solidity, and maturity of the society's collective are most clearly evidenced in its ability to combat negative phenomena in army collectives. The July BCP Central Committee Plenum pointed out that criticism and self-criticism are powerful weapons in the struggle against weaknesses, shortcomings, and negative phenomena in our overall life. The

activities of Komsomol organizations and societies must be based on a spirit of irreconcilability, principle-mindedness, and high conscientiousness.

In accordance with the decisions of the 11th Party Congress and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum, the Komsomol must put an end to manifestations of liberalism and launch a struggle against the violators of discipline. It must call to strict account those who hinder the strengthening of combat readiness through their actions. Joint exigency must become an ever more effective factor in strengthening Komsomol discipline.

Along with intolerance of weaknesses, the Komsomol managements must evidence greater initiative and creativity in popularizing positive experience. They must take into consideration the successes and achievements of the individual Komsomol member or collective. This calls for a more skillful use of socialist competition and examples of daily military work imbued with heroism. The highly patriotic nature and significance of such work must be properly assessed.

"We may have solved all problems well," said Army General D. Dzhurov, Minister of National Defense, "but we cannot discuss any reorganization of our work without resolving the problem of discipline."

It is important for the Komsomol committees and all Komsomol members to find their places more specifically, to assess their role, and to energize their activities in strengthening discipline. There should be no Komsomol member who is unable to realize that discipline is an important factor in victory!

5003

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## BULGARIA

### BRIEFS

VARNA-ILICHOVSK FERRYBOAT CONSTRUCTION--In order to accelerate economic integration between the USSR and Bulgaria additional means of transportation are necessary. In this connection the building of the Varna-Ilichovsk Ferryboat will be very useful. The ferryboat will represent a floating railroad bridge, which will be capable of transporting several railroad trains at the same time. The construction will proceed under difficult geological conditions, but the building workers have pledged to commission the ferryboat by 9 September 1978. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1030 GMT 24 Jan 77 AU]

AUTOCARRIER VESSEL--The first Bulgarian specialized vessel for the transportation of cars is already sailing between Ruse and the USSR ports on the Danube. The vessel has 3 decks and can carry 212 cars. [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1403 GMT 31 Jan 77 AU]

CSO: 2200

EAST GERMANY

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH CRITICIZED BY DRESDEN SCIENTIST

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 3 Feb 77 pp 1-2

[Text] According to Prof Dr Manfred von Ardenne, well-known research scientist from Dresden, the pace of scientific progress in the GDR has been adversely affected by certain shortcomings. In an article appearing in the SAECHSISCHE ZEITUNG, Ardenne, apparently also on the basis of his own experiences, criticized the fact that "false ambition, egotism, envy, bias, and arrogance on the part of some experts still much too often curb the activity of creative trailblazers." In the view of the internationally recognized scientific researcher, combating such weaknesses would both expedite scientific-technical progress and speed up the improvement in the GDR standard of living.

Ardenne also criticized the caution and bias of certain groups and institutions with respect to new and pioneering research results. "Much more than heretofore should have been done to apply the valuable results of research so as to benefit society. Ardenne stated that it must also be borne in mind that not all research results would pertain to industrial production, but that they would also serve the advancement of various professional disciplines. For example, this often applies to results of medical research which would be for the benefit of public health. "By means of open-mindedness and greater willingness for investigation and cooperation, the will for creative achievement on the part of scientists and technicians could be intensified and the pace of scientific progress in the interest of society could be substantially increased.

CSO: 2300



## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

NEW PHARMACOPOEIA ISSUED--As of 1 January 1977 a new pharmacopoeia has become effective in the GDR, which supersedes that published in 1964. This 7-volume, loose-leaf edition contains general quality, test, and safety specifications for all medicines, including serums, vaccines, monographs for about 850 medicines, and about 100 monographs for standard prescriptions. The new GDR pharmacopoeia is the legally binding basis for both the production of medicines and hygienic agents and the dosage, storage, and dispensation of prescription medicines. For the first time the new pharmacopoeia adopted specifications from the Compendium Medicamentorum, which is the standard work of CEMA countries for the testing and guarantee of quality of medicines. According to ADN, the pharmacopoeia, which is now available in German and Russian, has been formulated "under the leadership" of GDR scientists. [Text] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 2/1977 pp 8-9]

CSO: 2300

POLISH DAILY DOUBTS CARTER'S ABILITY TO FULFILL PROMISES

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7 Feb 77 p 2 AU

[Dispatch from Washington by Adam Stanek: "The United States on the Threshold of New Presidency--Plans for Improving U.S. Economy"]

[Text] Instead of delivering the traditional message to Congress, Carter concluded the second week of his term with a television speech to the nation.

It was Franklin Delano Roosevelt who started the so-called fireside chats in 1933, which were broadcast and the first began with the President's remarking on the "serious economic situation." Those were the times of the great crisis.

Last week President Carter returned to the tradition of informal conversation and took his seat in the same White House library from which Roosevelt used to make his speeches. The only difference was that Jimmy Carter sat there in a pullover without a jacket in front of TV cameras and that the U.S. situation is not as serious as it was in the thirties.

Effects of a Severe Winter

It so happened, however, that President Carter spoke at a time when a severe winter was causing great energy difficulties, which resulted in a temporary increase of the army of the unemployed by some 3 million people, as was reported on that day. This fact cast in relief the energy issues in the President's speech. Jimmy Carter warned the Americans that energy shortages will remain a permanent feature in the United States and proclaimed a long-term economy drive. He also confirmed his election promise that the first comprehensive energy plan would be worked out for the country.

The crucial point of this "fireside chat" as everyone called his speech in the end was for the President himself and for his audience the answer to this question: "What else has Jimmy Carter done to begin implementing his election promises and what is he intending to do in the immediate future?"

## Invigoration of Foreign Policy

Although people have been saying for some time now that the White House will focus its attention on domestic matters for a longer time, it has been impossible not to note the new administration's particular vigor in precisely the international arena. Carter dispatched Vice President Mondale to Western Europe and Japan to establish contacts with the politicians there. At the same time, he expressed his readiness and intent to continue the SALT negotiations with the Soviet Union, to meet Leonid Brezhnev and to further improve relations with the USSR, which he reaffirmed in his TV speech. The day before he received Soviet Ambassador Dobrynin in the White House and discussed with him these issues, stressing his wish for "close contacts" with the Soviet leader. In this connection it was announced that Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who began his term negotiating a new canal treaty with Panama, would go to Moscow in March. In the meantime the President sent Young, the U.S. first black representative to the United Nations, to tour black Africa.

## Promises and Reality

The President's first TV message was nevertheless dominated by domestic matters, which is nothing strange because Carter is facing many difficulties calling for solution, such as the budgetary deficit and severe energy shortages.

Carter has got his own plans for mobilizing new economic incentives, for invigorating the economy in this way and for increasing the number of new jobs, but these plans have caused controversies in the capital. This is why in his TV speech the President appealed to Congress for close cooperation and to society for "common efforts," for "sacrifices" (this applied mainly to energy economies) and even for forbearance.

Listening to the chief of the new administration that day, the U.S. television viewers must have been confirmed in their conviction that President Carter will not be able to implement much of what he promised as a presidential candidate last year.

CSO: 2600

## ROMANIA

### USE OF SPACE FOR MILITARY PURPOSES CONDEMNED

Bucharest VIATA STUDENTEASCA in Romanian 14 Dec 76 and 21 Dec 76

[Article by Nicolae Istodor]

[14 Dec 76, p 9]

[Text] For the monopolistic circles war has always been a source of enrichment. As owners of factories for armament, ammunition, and military equipment, the imperialist circles have been concerned with new refinements of the fighting technique required for waging wars, concurrently with expanding the "outlets" of armament which have become "unusable" for them and even for exporting some of the latest types of weapons. To this end, in the developed capitalist countries, principally in the United States, the Political Administrative Military Industrial Complex was established. Many journalists called the American military complex Goliath, Monster, Moloch, Colossus, and Giant, and regarded it as a symbol of the pressure exerted by military circles on states and peoples and as a phenomenon which jeopardizes world peace and blocks disarmament. We shall focus on one of the complex facets of this phenomenon, which is suggestive in terms of its social-political ramifications: the efforts to use space for military purposes.

Immediately after the first moon landing, in 1969, the discussion was resumed on the extension of the military strategic "field" as far as the moon. In this context many articles were issued which revitalized the idea of using, in a possible world conflagration, the outer space, including the moon. At the beginning, attempts were made to work out a package of military doctrines which involved the ground, water, the atmosphere, space and even the moon. Until 1970, there was no knowledge of any program which provided for the use of the moon as a space strategic military base (such a program would have violated the treaty adopted by the UN General Assembly of 19 December 1966). The theoretical discussions conducted by 1970, especially those on the establishment of military bases on the moon, at that time involved military experts and had an unofficial character. Nevertheless, in this context, space programs were known which had a purely military orientation, justified or acceptable,

and provided for the accomplishment and testing of space objects and auxiliary means (rockets and testing technology) used directly or indirectly for military purposes. Tangentially, we mention a few journals issued by the 70's, which set forth such anachronistic ideas: Aviation Week, American Aviation and Space Technology, Aeronautics and Aeronautics, Interovia, Air et Cosmos Missiles (Espace). La Recherche Spatiale, Journal of Spacecraft and Rockets.

The efforts to use space for military purposes involved both civilian programs and military space programs. In this context, a new type of enterprise emerged: the space enterprise, which apparently had a peaceful economic character, but beyond appearances, it is aimed at equipping the army. This accounts for the close attention with which the American military circles have been following the scientific and technical-industrial advances in astronautics and especially the use of these advances in modernizing current services: meteorology, telecommunications, and so on. In most cases, the primary factor of initiation and incentive in these directions came from the army, although the programs were prepared and carried out under civilian cover. Here are a few examples. In April 1969, satellite Nimbus-3 was launched and in January 1970, satellite Tiros-M, as a meteorologic instrument. At the time of the launching Nimbus-3 was assessed as the heaviest (576 kg) and the most refined American meteorological satellite. From its orbit (circular, polar, at 1100 km) it was capable of questioning 16 units located in various areas of the globe, units which were equipped with a small transmission-reception station of 12 kg, in order to pick up from them the information they collected. This satellite (which was regarded as a genuine central meteorological observatory) daily received signals from a small transmitter of only 3.2 kg which was "located" on the neck of an elk that was roaming freely in the Yellowstone National Park. The purpose of the test with the satellite was to use a new technique of surveying the migration of the herds of wild animals but also provided new opportunities for surveying the movement of small mechanized military units, of a car, or even of one individual. This account would be incomplete without our pointing out that in modern war the army needs to know the current weather but especially the meteorological forecast because the organization of the battle is in direct connection with this factor. Both the air force and the navy, the rocket troops and the other military branches absolutely need the most accurate meteorological reports possible.

As early as when the history of astronautics began, the American space programs reflected the interest of the army in communications satellites. Their outstanding prospects were foreseen in terms of remote communications from one continent to another, from one corner of the world to another. The programs focused on active satellites, converted into "fixed" space radio-relays by launching them into geostationary orbits (equatorial synchronous orbits, at the altitude of 35,870 km). These have multiple roles: simultaneous telephone conversations between several parties (multichannel telephone system) or on each telephone channel several telegraph and phototelegraph messages (multiplex secondary line), television broadcasts, data transmission, and so on.

In January 1970 (after failed attempts) there was an addition to the INTELSAT system. It involved a unit from the third generation (out of six launchings only three succeeded), INTELSAT-3 with a capacity of simultaneously handling one or two television programs, several hundred telephone conversations, transmission of data for computers, facsimiles, and so on. During the same year, work began on extending the network of ATS experimental geostationary satellites designed to relay television broadcasts and transmit these programs on national territories. These satellites provided great prospects for remote safe, simple, and inexpensive operational links for military purposes. The requirements involved in military equipment resulted in the individual approach to the matter for military purposes and the development of specific programs for satellite communications for the army needs. The military leaders focused on navigation and geodesic satellites. Two classes of satellites designed for navigation control were singled out from the category of telecommunications satellites. One class was for sea navigation, for example the Transit navigation satellites, used on any weather, day and night, characterized by great accuracy in orienting ships and submarines. Apart from orientation-navigation and control, which are decisive factors in military actions, these satellites also provide the determination of the geographic coordinates (longitude and latitudes) of submarine and sea-bottom missile launching pads. Another class involves air navigation satellites -- through the system of three geostationary satellites -- which can approximately cover all the world. The control of air navigation by using a very high frequency telecommunications system would ensure air transportation over great distances, with supersonic speed, under appreciably safe conditions. An example of this type of satellite was Syncom (1964).

/21 Dec 76, p 97

/Text/ Another class of satellites devised and produced under civilian programs and also designed for military purposes include geodesic satellites through which sophisticated geodesic, topographic, and cartographic procedures are mastered. These satellites include ANNA, GEOS, and SECOR (the army has a priority involvement in their development).

Here are a few facts on military space programs. In this context, we shall list a few categories of satellites and techniques usable for the army's "needs." The first category involves research satellites (scouting) designed to thoroughly "survey" the ground and water for the purpose of discovering objects of strategic interest (fixed or mobile) such as: new industrial projects, military facilities, missile pads, airfields, troop concentrations or dislocations, and so on. This category includes satellites for in-sight photocosmic research and satellites for nuclear research. Priority was given to the satellites in the first category, with the mission

of observation from space, for control and scouting (more precisely spying). A characteristic satellite is SAMOS which can help to take photographs from a distance of 250 km on which objects which have a development of at least 7 meters appear distinctly (under certain conditions also objects 5 m in length, 0.7 m and 0.5 m respectively may be distinguished). A satellite noted for detecting the launching of large rockets is MIDAS which can detect any rise in reactive jets of rockets. VELA HOTEL satellites are designed for nuclear control (launched to about 100,000 km away from the earth) and conduct constant radiation measurements. They have such a high sensitivity that (according to some assessments) they can record a megaton nuclear explosion that would break out on the surface of Mars. An important place in the basic American program for using satellites for military purposes was originally held by the Initial-Defense Satellite Communication System, designed for air control. In 1970 there were 26 satellites on quasistationary orbits (equatorial orbits, 33,000 km far from the earth). They had been launched into space in groups of 6-8 units with the same carrier rocket. Because they had a life of only 6 years, the second stage was started -- their launching by the new DSCS system. They were considerably improved and were designed to ensure radio, telegraph, telephone, teletype, and video transmission, automatic data transmissions with a high output and great accuracy. Such a satellite, produced by the American company Philco-Ford (for the British Army) was orbited in November 1969, under the designation SKYNET. At that time it was specified that two such geostationary satellites and several ground stations would ensure the establishment of operational military links between England and NATO forces and with the dislocated British forces in the Middle East and South-East Asia.

Space technology did not mark time. It has developed in close conformance with the expansionist interests of the Political Administrative Military Industrial Complex. Beginning in 1975, the American satellites were capable of photographing a cigarette pack from an orbital altitude of 80 miles or ensuring the radio relay of talks between bomber pilots in the Near East to translators in Washington within only 10 minutes. Early in the 70's, a large-size spaceship started being used. It was 50-foot long, weighed 25,000 pounds, its diameter was 10 feet, and its payload was 10 pounds. It is known under the designation of BIG-BIRD. According to some assessments, this spaceship, on specific missions, carries a television camera with a special variable focus lens which permits the direct transmission of the televised pictures to ground observers. Moreover, it has infrared multispectral photographic equipment capable of detecting any camouflage attempts. Apparently, it is so sensitive that it is capable of distinguishing between older grass and recently planted grass. Anyone can picture its "efficiency" in military operations. Very heavy emphasis is now being placed on orbital stations. In this context the Manned Orbiting Laboratory was developed in 1963. Here are a few general aspects. For instance, the area of Chicago photographed from Skylab, from an altitude of 440 km so

clearly shows the O'Hare International Airport that its runways can be seen on the photograph taken. On another photograph taken from this orbital station over the Mac Dill Air Base one can clearly distinguish four aircraft outside the main runway.

Here are only a few aspects from what experts have designated as elements of the "electronic war." This arsenal also includes aircraft, radar stations, satellites antisatellites, and so on. All this contradicts the obligations assumed under a number of international treaties such as the treaty on avoiding using space for aggressive purposes and on banning the orbiting of nuclear loads. These treaties have been violated by the imperialist circles. Therefore, we may say that in the crisis which undermines the foundations of imperialism, which has reached the stage in which it can no longer solve the contradictions which manifest themselves on all planes, besides its manifestation of unleashing wars for the purpose of subjugating mankind and maintaining power supremacy, besides its trait for a new redivision of the world, manifesting itself more and more forcefully is its struggle to conquer space and use it for war purposes. This trait seems very anachronistic in the context of mankind being concerned with detente and peace, with ensuring an economic development which would assure the best use of the inexhaustible resources of the earth.

It is evident that the new scientific discoveries, instead of being used for economic development and for eliminating the economic lags existing in the world, are being primarily used for military purposes. This materialized part of science, instead of being used for the development of the productive forces, acquires greater and greater value for aggressive, military purposes and, along with other factors, constitute elements that only are warnings in the process of detente, peace, and peoples' security.

1170  
CSO: 2700



YUGOSLAVIA

LAW ON PREVENTING ABUSE OF FREEDOM OF PRESS, PUBLIC INFORMATION

Belgrade SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ in Serbo-Croatian No 58, 31 Dec 76 pp 1829-1831

[Text] Article 1

In exercising freedom of the press and other forms of public information no one shall utilize the information media for subverting the foundations of the socialist self-managing democratic order established by the Constitution of the SFRJ [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] or for jeopardizing the independence of the country or for jeopardizing peace and egalitarian international cooperation.

Article 2

It is prohibited to distribute printed matter which:

- 1) involves the commission of criminal acts against the foundations of the socialist self-managing social system, the security of the SFRJ, or against the armed forces of the SFRJ;
- 2) involves the publication of documents or data concerning the armed forces of the SFRJ or the national defense which are military secrets;
- 3) involves the propagation or support of aggression or other acts against humanity or international law or the goals of the United Nations or the use of other forms to jeopardize peace or egalitarian international cooperation;
- 4) involves the disruption of the maintenance and development of friendly relations between the SFRJ and other states;
- 5) causes damage to the reputation of the SFRJ, the reputation of the Assembly of the SFRJ, the Presidency of the SFRJ and their representatives, or to the honor and reputation of the President of the Republic.

6) causes damage to the honor and reputation of foreign states and chiefs of foreign states or diplomatic representatives of foreign states in the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and international organizations recognized by the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and their representatives.

#### Article 3

Printed matter, according to this law, includes: newspapers, journals, bulletins, books, catalogs, prospecti, posters, leaflets, photographs, geographic maps, drawings with or without text, musical notes with text or comment, and other similar matter, printed on a printing machine or reproduced in some other fashion, intended for the public.

Printed matter, according to this law, does not include copies printed or reproduced in another fashion which serve exclusively as official material for the internal operation of state organs, organizations of associated labor, and other organizations and communities, including forms, accounting and similar matter, price lists, directions for using appliances and medications, invitations and similar [matter], provided their contents are typical of such matter.

#### Article 4

The organization of associated labor or another legal person, i.e. individual who prints the matter (hereafter "printer") or the one who publishes the matter which has not been reproduced in a printing-office (hereafter "publisher") shall submit two copies to the authorized public prosecutor from the first copies of each edition of the printed matter immediately after its printing or reproduction.

#### Article 5

For the purpose of the immediate prevention of the distribution of printed matter with content [indicated] in Article 2 of this law, a temporary ban on the distribution of printed matter can be issued by the public prosecutor who conducts proceedings before the court authorized to issue the ban (Article 8).

The temporary ban on the distribution of printed matter [indicated] in paragraph 1 of this Article is issued as a decree explained in writing which must include the title and part of the article which is the reason for issuing the ban and designate the provision of the law upon which the ban is based.

The temporary ban on the distribution of printed matter [indicated] in paragraph 1 of this Article is in effect until the court decision becomes valid, and is effective in the entire territory of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The initiative for issuing a temporary ban on the distribution of printed matter can be taken by citizens, organs and organizations.

The decree on the temporary ban on the distribution of printed matter shall not be publicized. The public shall be informed only of the fact that the distribution of the printed matter has been temporarily banned.

#### Article 6

The authorized public prosecutor shall immediately submit the decree on the temporary ban on the distribution of the printed matter to:

- 1) the authorized court, with a proposal for issuing a ban on the distribution of the printed matter;
- 2) the founder of the organization of associated labor which is the publisher of the printed matter;
- 3) the editor in chief, the publisher or the printer, with an order to refrain from distributing the printed matter until a legally valid court decision has been made;
- 4) the authorized organ for internal affairs in the republic, or the autonomous province on the territory of which the matter has been printed, or on the territory of which the matter is being distributed, with an order that all copies of the printed matter be confiscated or sealed and, if necessary, that the printing type, matrix and other means of reproduction be also confiscated or sealed.

The editor in chief, the publisher or the printer and the authorized organ for internal affairs in the republic or the autonomous province shall act in accordance with the orders of the public prosecutor.

#### Article 7

The authorized organ for internal affairs in the republic or the autonomous province, in executing the decree of the authorized public prosecutor on the temporary ban on the distribution of the printed matter, on the basis of the decree which ordains a search, disposes of the right to perform a search of the business premises of the editorial board, administration, printing-office, warehouse, stores, etc. or the residential premises of the author, editor in chief, publisher, and printer and, if necessary, their personal search, provided there are sufficient grounds to suspect that printed matter the distribution of which has been banned exists on those premises or with these individuals.

The search [indicated] in paragraph 1 of this Article shall be witnessed by two citizens who are of age. The [results of the] search shall be recorded in a minute-book.

#### Article 8

The ban on the distribution of printed matter (Article 2) shall be issued by the authorized court in whose jurisdiction the printing, reproduction, or distribution has taken place, or by the authorized court in whose jurisdiction is the residence, or headquarters of the publisher of the printed matter-provided the matter has not been printed in a printing-office or the location of printing is unknown.

#### Article 9

On the proposal of the public prosecutor for issuing a ban on the distribution of printed matter the court shall hold a trial within a period of 3 days subsequent to the receipt of the proposal.

The public prosecutor and the publisher shall be cited as parties to the trial. If the publisher is unknown, the printer shall be subpoenaed, while, if the printer is unknown, the distributor of the printed matter shall be subpoenaed.

#### Article 10

The legal proceedings concerning the proposal for issuing a ban on the distribution of printed matter shall not be interrupted or terminated.

The trial concerning the proposal for issuing a ban on the distribution of printed matter shall not be adjourned unless it is absolutely necessary in order to provide evidence.

#### Article 11

As part of the legal proceedings involving the proposal for issuing a ban on the distribution of printed matter, the court can hold a trial even if the duly summoned parties have failed to attend the trial. This shall be explicitly called to the parties' attention in the subpoena.

#### Article 12

On the proposal for issuing a ban on the distribution of printed matter, the court shall issue a decree banning the distribution or shall reject the proposal of the public prosecutor and overrule his decree on the temporary ban on the distribution of printed matter.

#### Article 13

If the court issues a ban on the distribution of the printed matter, the explanation of the decree must indicate the parts of the printed matter which are the reason for issuing the ban. In the decree banning the distribution of the printed matter the court shall order that all copies of the printed matter be confiscated. This measure shall not be applied in

relation to those parts of the printed matter which are proved separable from the parts the distribution of which has been banned, such as unrelated sheets, supplements, wrappers and such.

The court can, according to the circumstances of the case, order that the cliché, matrix, and other similar means used in the reproduction, be confiscated and the type be dismantled.

The court shall determine whether the confiscated means will be destroyed or forwarded to another organ or organization.

#### Article 14

If the court rejects the proposal for issuing a ban on the distribution of the printed matter and overrules the decree of the public prosecutor on the temporary ban on the distribution of the printed matter, it will ordain that the matter which has been temporarily confiscated on the basis of that decree be returned to the individual from whom it had been confiscated.

The appeal of the public prosecutor against the decree of the court [indicated] in paragraph 1 of this Article shall postpone the execution of the decree.

#### Article 15

The decree on the proposal for issuing a ban on the distribution of the printed matter shall be issued immediately after the conclusion of the trial, while the president of the council shall publicize it without delay.

The decree shall be put in writing and verified copies shall be delivered to the parties within a period of 3 days subsequent to its announcement.

#### Article 16

Against the decree of the court of first instance concerning the proposal of the public prosecutor for issuing a ban on the distribution of the printed matter the parties can submit an appeal to the authorized court of second instance within a period of 3 days subsequent to the delivery of copies of the decree.

The appeal shall not be submitted for response.

The punctual and valid appeal, along with all documents, shall be forwarded by the court of first instance to the court of second instance within a period of 3 days subsequent to the receipt of the appeal.

The court of second instance can summon the parties to a hearing.

The court of second instance shall make a decision about the appeal within a period of 3 days subsequent to the receipt of the appeal with the documents.

Against the decree of the court of second instance an appeal is not permitted.

#### Article 17

The sentence of the legally valid decree which bans the distribution of the printed matter shall be published in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

#### Article 18

Unless otherwise provided by this law, the legal proceedings concerning the proposal for issuing a ban on the distribution of the printed matter shall in an adequate manner apply the provisions of the Law on Criminal Acts.

On the occasion of the request to protect legality, the authorized court which issues the decree is not bound by the restrictions of Article 422 Clause 3 of the Law on Criminal Acts, provided the request is submitted within a period of 3 months from the day of delivering to the parties of the decree concerning the appeal, i.e. from the day when the decree of the court of first instance, which has not been considered by a higher court on the occasion of the appeal, becomes valid. In such a case the court shall make a decision within a period of 30 days subsequent to the submission of the request to protect legality.

#### Article 19

The provisions of this law on banning the distribution of printed matter and on the legal procedure for issuing this ban shall be applied in an adequate manner to programs of radio stations and radio television stations, to presentations of news films and other films, videomaterials and audiomaterials, containing information on a particular event, phenomenon, region, person or activity as well as to slides, phonograms, videograms and other similar materials which are in circulation--provided their content is the one designated in Article 2 of this law.

#### Article 20

[Individual] who distribute domestic printed matter despite the ban issued on the basis of the provisions of this law, or broadcast a program on the radio or television, or put in circulation or publicly present news films, other films, video-material or audiomaterial, or produce or put in circulation a slide, phonogram, videogram or other similar material, shall be punished for criminal act with up to 3 years' imprisonment.

#### Article 21

A fine of 2,000 to 20,000 dinars shall be imposed on the organization of associated labor or other legal person who, as a printer or publisher of the printed matter, immediately after the printing, or reproduction, fails to submit to the authorized public prosecutor the designated number of copies of the printed matter (Article 4). For this violation a fine of 1,000 to 5,000 dinars shall also be imposed on the responsible individual in the organization of associated labor, or other legal person.

For the violation [indicated] in paragraph 1 of this Article an individual shall be fined with 1,000 to 5,000 dinars or punished with imprisonment of up to 30 days.

#### Article 22

On the day when this law becomes valid, the Law on Preventing Abuse of Freedom of Printing and Other Forms of Public Information becomes invalid (SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ No 22/73).

#### Article 23

This law becomes valid on the 8th day subsequent to its publication in SLUZBENI LIST SFRJ.

8989

CSO: 2800

POLEMICS OVER CLANNISHNESS AND EXCLUSIVENESS GROW

Ljubljana ITD in Slovenian 7 Jan 77 p 3

[Article by Viktor Sirec]

[Text] In addition to the Zagreb review OKO and the Belgrade KNJIZEVNE NOVINE, the polemics between the writers has been joined by journalists of the Zagreb VIJESNIK, the Belgrade POLITIKA, publishing house NIN and others who are interested in establishing whether clannishness exists among our literary workers. This was what Oskar Davico maintained in the VECERNE NOVOSTI. After publishing the letters of concerned as well as of neutral writers, the NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE stated that the journal would attempt to make space available to those who were able and willing to contribute to our culture in a candid, critical, and principled manner.

The concern lest the polemics on clannishness degenerate into an ordinary verbal free-for-all is, of course, justified. Dragoslav Markovic, president of the Serbian Socialist Republic Presidency, stated in an interview granted to VIJESNIK last year that, despite whatever reservations one might have, the writers' polemics on clannishness is nevertheless an expression of progressive trends and an overcoming of resistances in the process of the self-managing transformation of culture. "The only thing that may be difficult to accept is the lack of culture in this polemics, the manner in which the polemics is being carried on in an environment in which one would expect the relationship to be highly cultured."

Those familiar with literary circles were not surprised over the lack of culture in the polemics about culture. "Those who believed that a dialog on culture necessarily implied a cultured dialog may have found it otherwise," wrote a POLITIKA columnist. He, however, was unconcerned as to how the readers would find their way in the exchange of grave mutual recriminations by the writers. "The people can distinguish between insinuations, personality conflicts, power struggle on one hand and a courageous and honest attempt to bring about a change in relationships based on connections and clannishness."



Culture is simply a part of our lives, and it would be wrong if our views on it, or any other area for that matter, were too idealistic. This may be why Miodrag Bulatovic exclaimed: "Excessive air pollution! And what climate is this, all of a sudden?" He had the impression that we began to look for the third godfather after we had seen the first and the second at the cinema. We were looking for the third godfather among us, but the search was to no avail because we have no godfathers but only pikers. Only the weak, shy, and inept are banding together in our country. Capable and talented writers need no clans. Their power derives from their writings. And what are the clans without power and a powerful godfather? Nothing. Less than nothing! Why, then, all this clamor and commotion, asks Bulatovic.

Petar Dzadzic, recently accused of plagiarism by Davico, questioned, in his reply, the value of Davico's works. "The difficulties arose when I had the temerity to ask questions and make comments when the Selected Works of Oskar Davico were being published in PROSVETA as a joint edition with the Sarajevo publishing house Svijetlost. I dared to propose that a committee be formed to study how many works of Oskar Davico are on the market, at what price they are being sold, and so on. It is known that these two published Davico's works in 1969 and that, while only a small number of copies was printed, even those were not selling well, so that Svijetlost still has some of them in stock..."

Dzadzic also quotes details. He maintains that he had invited Davico back to the Union and that Davico had accepted his invitation and heaped praise upon his books, and so on.

In the same breath, Davico responds: "He childishly interprets all his literary aces through the prism of his professors and not his own ignorance. Thus Djordje Vukovic hates him, Bandic envies him, while I am mad at him. Nonsense! It is true that 10 years ago I once was mad at him when he, on a spring morning, so passionately advocated the proposal for reflection. Nationalistic! To the extent that he can think about nationalism rather than make it merely the object of his hatred. A lot of water has flown in the Danube and Sava Rivers since that time. Many things have improved, even with my accuser. But have they in fact improved?

This is reminiscent of the writings published 10 years ago by the now-criticized KNJIZEVNE NOVINE concerning criticism that is not based on one's own work. "What am I to do now, when I see that the house will fall apart? I do not know how to repair it, I only see that it is falling apart. Should I remain silent? I would, but, comrades, I am sorry--the house will bury you under its ruins."

Something like this is now being said by Jeremic. "How can we prove that we are not banding in clans? If everyone sees that we are and the members of the clans receive prizes, what, then, are those members of the award panels doing who do not belong to clans?"

A similar question was answered by Dragoslav Markovic in the interview given to VIJESNIK: "We notice that the publicized prizes are being awarded rather haphazardly, both with respect to their number and to the criteria by which they are awarded. We tried to obtain an overall view of this problem. We worked for a long time but could come to no conclusion with the evaluations or with knowledge. There was only one report that we gave to all sociopolitical communities: namely, that better cooperation should prevail. Regardless of all this, the following conclusion emerges: It is necessary to change the members of the nominating and award panels. This should be one of the basic principles. Likewise, I must admit that I do not support a system of appointing the award panels but prefer selection within the delegates' self-managing bodies in accordance with a prescribed procedure applicable for all responsible duties in our society."

These were the thoughts of the president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Presidency and this is how the Serbian Socialist Republic's Presidency acted. In addition, Dragoslav Markovic stated that the fact that this dispute showed no division along nationality lines--included no confrontations between Zagreb, Belgrade, Sarajevo, and so on but concentrated on the socio-economic substance--was a positive thing. POLITIKA columnist Slavoljub Djukie, however, nevertheless expressed concern over the objectives: "Why are you from Zagreb interfering in our affairs here in Belgrade!" In his editorial comments under the title "Polemics" he overstepped a little the bounds of the cultural and literary polemics and entered into the arena of relations between journalists.

"While we condemned such conduct, its traces remained and were running deeper than we were willing to admit. It is more because of the circumstances than by choice that the so-called "republic newspapers" offer reason to believe that they are in all respects republican and "cosmopolitan."

Frequently our papers contain more news from Germany, America, or the Soviet than from our local places that are 300, 400, or 500 kilometers away. This is obviously a consequence of separating "our" topics from "theirs" -- which becomes immediately apparent when the passions of regional chauvinism are fanned up. Can we still be asking the questions which we thought we had resolved in 1971? Is it more appropriate to become involved in events taking place in Paris, London, Rome, and Tokyo and write about their trivial gossip than exchange opinions on political, economic, and cultural situations in Zagreb, Belgrade, or any other Yugoslav city? Why should a man from Sarajevo confine himself to speaking only about Bihac but not about Belgrade? Actually, no one can deny us this right. Man feels confined and unfree if he is denied the right to transcend the locality to which he is confined by the logic of the cultural, economic, or political monopolies in which resides the exclusive right of "our" authorities to apportion, measure, and parcel out things in accordance with our ideas. With the unfortunate phrase, "This is of no concern to you," we are undermining the foundations of democracy, self-management, and unity.

Thus Djukic resists cultural and any other kind of deprivation. He touches only upon the questions of the so-called republic journalism. If he extended his thoughts to the so-called "in-house" journalism, which is plagued by an even greater exclusiveness and monopolist tendencies in the flow of information, he might have come up with even more drastic findings. In this way Bulatovic could get even more convincing proof that while we have no full-scale clans, we do have many little clannish groups. We have not come up with a third godfather but we do have a whole host of weaklings who thrive on and draw their strength from the petty local circumstances.

If nothing else, the uncultured debate on cultural matters at least pointed at this minute threat, which actually represents in its mass-produced form the great danger of human inability to overcome its own selfish interests for the sake of the common good. Or does the clannishness perhaps exist only in the publishing houses and not elsewhere?

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## YUGOSLAVIA

### CULTURAL, LITERARY 'CLANS' AND 'MONOPOLIES' CRITICIZED

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jan 77 pp 19-20

[Article by Dr Vojislav Micovic]

[Text] In the last months of the past year the Yugoslav public, particularly those people whose special and vital interests are the relationships and the state of mind in cultural affairs, had the opportunity to follow unusually sharp debates between a few of our cultural workers and creative artists who, for various reasons, spoke out openly, without "a coated tongue." Both the former and the latter adversaries proved their own statements and refuted the arguments of the other side. Nevertheless, individuals still were more concerned with secondary matters than intent on entering into a debate about essential questions.

This public "discussion," considering the impetus for it and the methods by which it has been conducted, would not deserve special attention had not at times there appeared in it, and more often because of it, many important questions, varying moods and opinions on the state of Yugoslav criticism, on the goals, values and methods of public discussions, on criteria for evaluating creative works, on (the lack of) self-management relationships in cultural activities, on social relationships of the operations of clans and similar groups (whose vested interests are not only material and esthetic, but also political and ideological), on the existence of various monopolies, on the level of organization of the front of the ideological struggle and on the role of the League of Communists in it.

It is not the writers' intention to evaluate the polemical texts, each one of which would deserve comment. At the moment only some positive predictions can be made that indicate "some motion," but also that warn against that motion turning into a dead-end street at whose end lie institutions of jurisprudence. Specifically, it would be desirable for the discussion to stay on the main track along the breadth of the front of the ideological struggle of the League of Communists to reach freedom of true creativity, liberty and socialist humanism, and a self-management socialist culture of the working people and associated work. The conditions permitting progress along that path are already in large part established.

It is not necessary to demonstrate what the League of Communists has done, what forces it has involved and what exertions it has expended to open broad pathways for freedom of creativity for all of those who are ready by their work to make a contribution to our socialist self-management culture. The resistance that the League has encountered is also common knowledge; it has struggled against various alternatives, positions and trends which sought to make our creative endeavors and culture into a provincial imitation of the so-called "great" cultures, to subordinate it to bourgeois ideas, or to shackle it in dogmatic, Zhdanovian supervision and schemes. This struggle of the League of Communists did not begin just yesterday. It has been a constant feature of its programmatic policy and one of its strategic goals. Of course, the results of that struggle have not always been those that might be wished, nor have its effects always been satisfying. Yet it is unquestionable that the front of our victories is the battlefield for a socialist, self-management society, and for culture within it, and that this front has so expanded that today there are no doubts as to who is the victor.

#### The Thesis of a Democratic Climate

We refer to all this today because, in the polemics that are currently taking place, there can be heard voices claiming that the arguments are proof of the existence of "a favorable democratic climate" for public discussions. Such a climate does in fact exist; but it did not just appear. It has long existed, and no one can complain that he was hindered in the freedom of public declaration, or in the publication, of his opinion, if it did not contradict the fundamental attitudes and values of our society.

It is a different matter to discuss polemics, their course, sense and purpose. It is not necessary to prove the degree to which that form of public confrontation of various opinions is significant for the development and sharpening of our critical thinking and creative criticism in general, the degree to which we are lacking it and how much it should be cultivated. Every participant, however, in polemics that lack sense and purpose, argumentative value and cultivation of dialog will fail to find followers in our milieu, because "battle for its own sake" serves no one except the lovers of barren debate, intellectual sophistries and linguistic juggling, and the newspapers that live on sensationalism. Therefore, why should we support polemics at any cost!

For the further development of public criticism and of polemics as its form, crucial importance is attached to the persons and the positions which it involves. This is a matter of basic ideological and political points of departure, of the essential question of social criticism, since "partners in a common struggle criticize each other one way, while opponents in that struggle have a different way" (Edvard Kardelj). Thus the question is one of ideological differentiation, without which there is no successful point for beginning criticism. For this reason the fronts of criticism dare not be confused, because on differing fronts various "weapons" must be utilized.

For our situation, that means that we must not accept any sort of polemics with the attitude of opponents, nor begin any sort of dialog about that which "our people has already long made its decision" (M. Planina). On any direction which is not socialist or self-management there can be no consideration or tolerance; with them there are no polemics.

On the other hand, criticism and polemics with people who share the common front in the struggle presuppose a totally different relationship, they require a different form and method of debate, in which the arguments must represent the basic force while tolerance, patience and respect for other viewpoints are their essential features.

In the words of Edvard Kardelj: "The social effect of criticism does not rely on words nor on subjective will, nor on good intentions, nor on the sharpness or radicalness of the criticism, but rather on its social and historical starting point, its effect on the relationships between social forces.... For every type of social criticism.... is at the same time a political action and a public act."

#### Factors Beclouding the Debate on Clans

Individual polemics would not rate special attention if they did not include statements that could be destructive or dangerous for our culture, and not for it alone. Specifically, attempts have been made to disqualify particular critics with arguments of "geographic isolation" and "ignorance of the situation." (As a reminder, Dr Dragan Jeremic questioned the right of Predrag Matvejevic of Zagreb to write about the situation in Belgrade cultural matters since he was "greatly removed from the scene"). Such methods of delineating and protecting one's own territory are well known from the recent past, and it is clear what they mean and where they lead. It appears that individuals still do not see, or do not comprehend, that since then there have been fundamental changes in political and social circumstances as well as in relationships between the cultures of peoples and nationalities in Yugoslavia, and that such methods are in direct contradiction to what is being created and built today in our country.

In the polemics there has been considerable talk about clans. Of course that is not anything new, because even previously a great deal was said and written on the subject. However, raising the question of the problem of clans in culture today is particularly important precisely because of the moment at which that is taking place. Specifically, our society as well as our culture is going through a period of fundamental transformation on the foundations of self-management and free exchange of labor. Thus, reference to clans as an anti-self-management occurrence both in culture and in society acquires at this moment a particular social and political significance.

Current debates, however, concerning this manifestation have not yielded any noteworthy results; it might even be said that they have not gone in the proper direction, so that to some degree they have clouded the issue. The discussions about clans as unique, non-formal interest groups cannot be pursued successfully without posing the question of their emergence and existence, the conditions that allow them, their source of sustenance and support,

and their means for gaining strength. It would be naive to believe that these clans are some sort of spontaneous groups of people connected by personal friendship, some sort of hobbies or some momentary material interest which they offer to the society, even though these are the outward signs which are used to identify adherence to such a group. The clans have roots in particular social relationships in the culture which are typified by undeveloped self-management and the presence of strong remnants of bourgeois liberal and dogmatic bureaucratic conceptions in the realm of the so-called social superstructure. Under such circumstances the clans appear as monopolistic pressure groups which strive and, not infrequently, succeed in achieving their goals--which most commonly are revealed as aspirations to obtain some sort of material concessions and privileges. Their often camouflaged ambitions transcend the domain in which they operate professionally, and extend to the sphere of ideology and politics. Consciously or unconsciously these groups become a factor which exerts pressure and influence cultural policies in their most concrete form. Such clans are not always formed on the basis of political opposition, but it is not uncommon for this to happen and, with particular groups for example, as in Belgrade, for them to have a nationalistic basis.

The existence of clans confirms the undeveloped state of self-management relationships in the culture and other spheres of the superstructure. Otherwise this could explain manifestations about which some things are said publicly and even more is known and bantered about: that "many prizes are awarded in not fully honest ways," that "many books are published in the cafe," that money for producing films cannot be obtained without pressure and "connections," that one cannot be part of a jury without "good recommendations," that one cannot advance in a scholarly profession without the good will of the department chairman, that one cannot obtain support for a scholarly project if he does not belong to a certain group, etc. The clans have their influence in other spheres as well, in public information media, for example. It is an open secret that individual creative artists, cultural workers, and those whose responsibilities are primarily of a public nature, are not looked upon favorably in certain broadcasts, nor are their opinions regarded as equal to others when they do appear in columns of some newspapers.

These occurrences and problems cannot be regarded indifferently, because such clans hinder directly the transformation of the culture on the bases of associated work, and in certain instances may become hot points of anti-socialist tendencies. The most successful means for combating all types of monopolies is still the development of self-management socialist public relationships and the strengthening of the responsibilities of social factors in this area. Ambitions and the might of the influence of monopolistic groups will be in an indirect ratio to the strength and level of development of self-management in institutions and organizations of culture, to the democratic nature of decisionmaking procedures in involved associations, to the responsibility of agencies and delegates in socio-political associations, and to the level of activity maintained by publishing councils and other agencies of public self-management. It is precisely in these places that juries are appointed and public recognition is awarded, that directors and

chief editors are appointed, that publishing plans are adopted, and that decisions are made on producing films and carrying out scholarly projects.

Clan-like and monopolistic groups compromise the self-management system of decisionmaking, because they hide behind it and manipulate it. They can be destroyed only by the constant development of self-management relationships, not by occasional willful intervention.

#### Prizes as a Form of Evaluating Creativity

In the polemics that have been followed, several times the question of prizes has been raised in discussing awards received by individuals for literary or other works in cultural areas. In this connection, mention has been made of the juries, the procedures, and the criteria used in awarding this social recognition. The polemics, however, have barely touched upon this important social problem. That would deserve more fundamental consideration, not only in the context of debate about clans and monopolies, but also in the overall framework of our total cultural policy, as one of its central and most complex questions. There is not space in this article for a full discussion, but we will attempt to indicate certain basic elements of this problem.

Yugoslav cultural and social institutions that are concerned with the development of culture have constructed a system for stimulating creativity. Every year numerous prizes are awarded for individual works and contributions to the development of culture. Without a doubt, this procedure supports creative work because such awards are not only material, but also moral stimuli to creative artists.

On the other hand, for a long time questions have been raised in connection with prizes concerning whether there are too many of them, what criteria are used in awarding them, and how juries are selected, among other factors.

Certainly, the basic problem is not one of a larger or smaller number of prizes, but of the nature of their function and what they stimulate. In this regard not all prizes are questioned, because all of them are not of the same social importance. Most of all, our attention at this moment is directed toward prizes that represent an expression of a broader public recognition for artistic values and ideological messages contained in a work or other form of activity by a creative talent, and which, as such, have yet another impact on the public.

For example, last year, on the occasion of the awards for the October prizes in Belgrade, numerous comments were heard about the composition of specific juries and their operating procedures, as well as about the value of awarded works and creations. This commentary recently moved delegates of the City Assembly to request a report on the activities of the jury which awards the prize for literature. It is this prize, in fact, that has stirred the most controversy in public discussions. It is good that the delegates are raising this question, because they bear part of the responsibility for the social function performed by this eminent prize, as well as for the esthetic



and ideological standards which make it an exceptionally significant accomplishment that should serve as a model and moral support for creative artists. We hope that the delegates will be concerned not only with the formal side of the problem, but also and primarily with questions of the criteria used to evaluate a particular work or works. Additionally, the public rightfully expects that the delegates, consonant with their rights and socio-political responsibilities, will take an interest in certain other prizes and the criteria according to which they are awarded. It is an open secret that in Belgrade there is wide dissatisfaction with, for example, the prize for drama.

When the discussion turns to juries, there are certainly two essential questions: How are juries formed, is this done in a democratic manner or does the mechanism for their selection contain pathways and channels through which various monopolistic and clannish groups operate, and why do certain individuals move from one jury to another. Secondly, and most important: What criteria are used to measure and reach decisions on the merits of a particular work or someone's creative contribution--are general social, ideological and esthetic standards applied and, if so, to what degree, or are decisions based exclusively on subjectively motivated opinions of jury members? If objective standards are applied, do they serve as the framework of a mandate formulated in propositions? In the same way, it would be worthwhile to ask whether prizes should be awarded at any cost in esthetic terms: if there are two poor books should the least bad of them receive a prize, etc?

#### Criteria for Criticism in Public Organs

Today, when a broader debate is opening on the status and the essential problems found in Yugoslav criticism, it is unavoidable that there be discussion of criticism appearing in our media, for there is the first instance of critical evaluation of works, and their public confirmation. It must be stated immediately that in the press, on the radio and on television, without exception, there still is no true social criticism which would begin from Marxist positions, from the ideological positions of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, from the standpoints of the value system of our socialist revolution and our society, to evaluate what is happening in actual life--from manifestations of our social practices to the highest achievements of artistic and scholarly creativity. That criticism which does appear from time to time, and thus not as the constant method of our relationship toward social reality, often does not transcend frameworks of onesidedness, the subjectivism of professional allegiance, and occurrences of ideological opportunism and even ideological convergence. For example, anyone who regularly follows the newspaper criticism of literary works, artistic films, or theatrical presentations will have no difficulty reaching the conclusion that that criticism is biased. At times it is exclusive and attacking, while often it is meandering and strident, lacking an objective critical opinion about a literary work, or else conciliatory and lacking in principle. Recently there have been occasions when the public media have contained critical reviews of a particular work which could leave the impression that articles about the

same work are dealing with different books entirely, for the judgments of the critics were so different that the reader was left in a quandary. Obviously there is an ideological dishomogeneity of criticism.

Examples of this can be found in abundance, even in most recent times. As an example, we recall the opinions of critics on Miodrag Bulatovic's book "The Man With Four Fingers," on Mesa Selimovic's "Recollections," and Dragan Jeremic's "Reveries and Creations," on the last Pula festival, on BITEF [expansion unknown--perhaps Belgrade International Television and Screen Festival], or the orchestrated praises for the film "The Concrete Rose," which the public did not even see in the version that was so praised, because the producer decided that it was poor and temporarily withdrew it from viewing.

What Is Hidden Behind the Question "Whom Does the League of Communists Support?"

Although the polemics here described have only begun, and are still skirting the heart of the problem, the question is already being heard: whom does the League of Communists support? The question is characteristic and, certainly, biased, since it calls upon the League of Communists to take an arbitrary stance. For a long time the thesis has been advanced that the arbitration of the League of Communists and the state are factors which limit creative freedom. That thesis has been supported by those groups which, during a time of ideological wavering and compliance of the League of Communists and other socialist self-management forces, sought to secure their definite monopolistic position. Even today, when relationships have begun to change, when in editorial boards, publishing houses and councils self-management relationships have begun to develop--thus threatening the positions of monopolies and the inviolability of individuals and groups--those same groups once again are heard which were opposed to the arbitration of the League of Communists. Instead of debate with their comrades--writers and other creative artists--they call upon the League of Communists through its forums to interfere and to arbitrate, naturally to their benefit.

Consistent with Marxist standpoints on the relationship of society to creative work, the League of Communists does not serve as an arbiter in resolving disputes between varying ideological or esthetic trends and directions. That is a matter for Marxist artistic criticism. The viewpoint of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia in this regard was presented by Stane Dolanc at the Congress of the Yugoslav Writers Association: "First of all, creative work must be its own judge. However, even there the progressive forces of society, led by the League of Communists, cannot permit matters to be left completely to spontaneity. They must fight for a favorable socio-political climate in which the judges of creative works will be directed toward the creative and humanistic aspirations of a socialist self-management society." At the ninth session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Serbia, it was stated that the League of Communists will "become involved in the further development of self-management and support of progressive,

socialist self-management forces, but it will not arbitrate--and especially will avoid doing so to the benefit of those forces that have long enjoyed a monopoly and which hinder our self-management development" (Dragoslav Markovic).

From all of this it clearly emerges that the League of Communists does not support a priori this or that individual or group, independent of what it does, says or creates. The League has a clear ideological and political platform. The relationship to that platform is the basic and only criterion applied to determine if the League of Communists will support or oppose something or someone. To this might be added the statement that it is well known that the League of Communists supports polemics as a form of communication, as a method for public debate of both cultural and other social problems. Yet by the nature of its functioning, it must become involved in every action employed by all sorts of clans and monopolies as forms for resisting the development of self-management relationships. So that the contribution of the League of Communists might be consonant with its role and its tasks in the ideological struggle, it must first of all become better organized and assist the forces and personnel that have adequate means for promoting the League's ideology in all spheres of life, including culture and creative endeavors. In that direction there is still a great deal to be done, for the front of the ideological struggle led by the League of Communists requires many more fighters to bring greater expansion and more successful conduct to the struggle.

Certainly, that front should be expanded to include all spheres of social life, for manifestations of monopolies and clans are not features merely of cultural activities, even though they are most visible in that domain. They are found as well in scientific and scholarly activities and in education, and outside the sphere of the social superstructure as well.

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